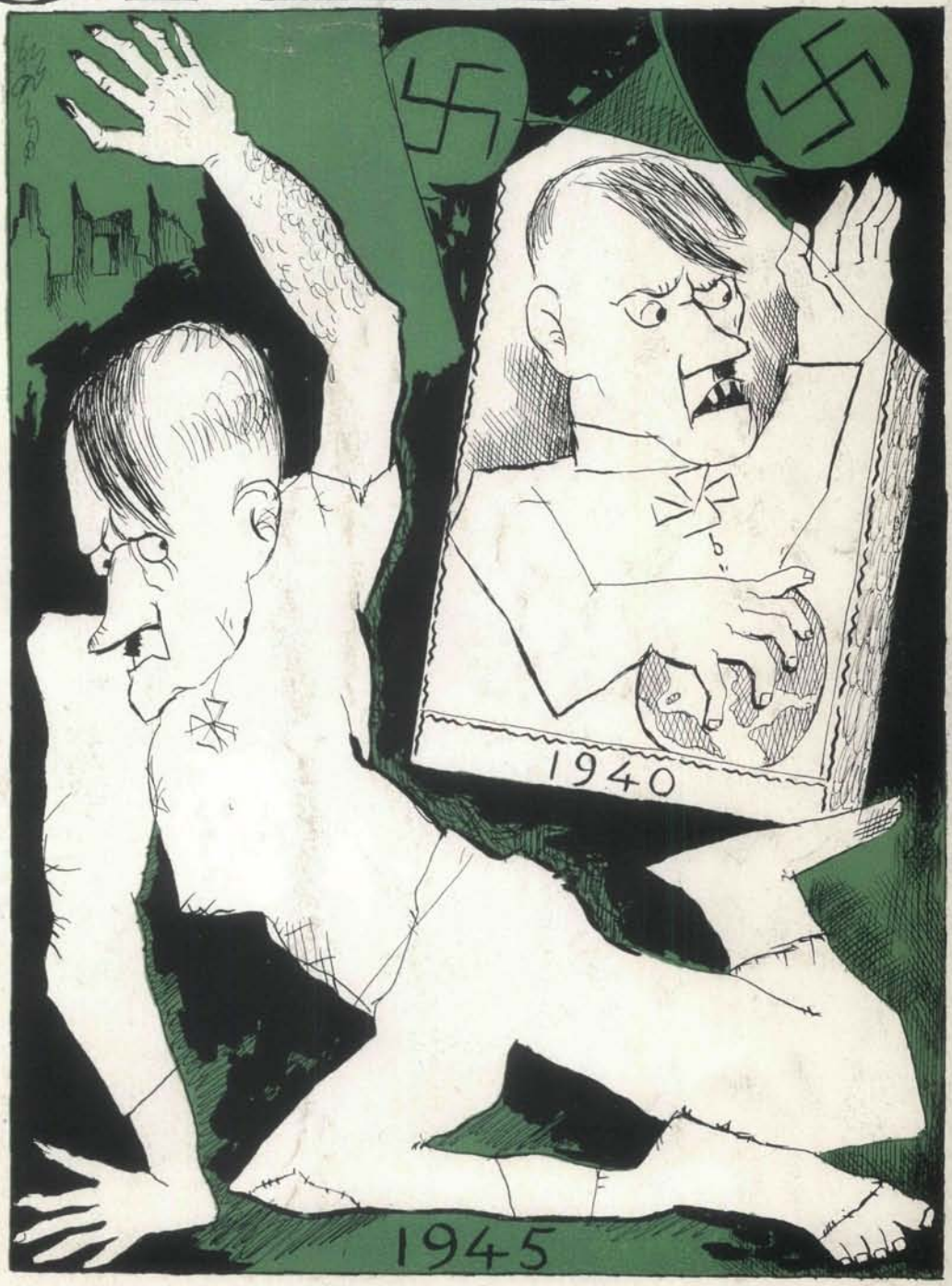
MARCH, 1945

FREE WORLD

The End
by
Thomas Mann
Nobel Prize for Literature



FREE SPEECH ON THE SILVER SCREEN
Darryl F. Zanuck
Producer of "Wilson"

•

THE THREE BIGGEST MEN IN THE WORLD
Louis Dolivet

•

MESSAGE TO YOUTH
Juan J. Amezaga
President of Uruguay

•

OBS FOR ALL?
Paul G. Hoffman
n. James E. Murray

e End

AWING BY
INTANILLA

40c

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"Forêt en Lorraine" painted for Pinaud by Bernard Lamotte

Lilianelle

All the captivating charm of the Forests of Lorraine

PINAUD
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SINCE 1810
PARIS **NEW YORK** LONDON

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The State of the World...

WEATHER REPORT: Militarily, clearer; politically, less cloudy, with sunshine from the Crimea.

Probabilities Ahead So many things are happening so fast that all predictions today must be taken with a few grains of salt. Nevertheless *Free World* hazards these informed guesses:

That when Great Britain has its overdue election, a Labor-Liberal-Common Wealth majority will take control away from the Conservatives.

That departmental elections to be held in France this April will show a strong trend toward progressive thinking and internationalism.

That the Rhineland and the Ruhr will be placed under an international commission headed by an American chairman, with a French administrator who will have a British deputy and Belgian and Dutch advisors.

Former Spanish Republican Premier Negrin, now in Paris, will shortly reach Mexico City and complete the formation of a coalition government, which will be recognized by many South American countries as the official government of Spain.

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

The Greatest Meeting in Modern History

Here is a preview of the General Conference of the United Nations, which will take place in San Francisco at the end of April. It will be a great show. This time there will be a departure from the severe tone of diplomatic formulas, at least for the opening and closing meetings. The United Nations will use good showmanship, proving that they can put on not only better but also bigger shows than the Nazis (Nuremberg).

At the opening meeting the President will greet delegates from all over the world. Broadcasts in more than forty languages will keep the public informed, hour by hour.

The atmosphere of the conference will be strongly charged with the feeling of a near victory. Major difficulties will have been threshed out in advance, and no unpleasant political questions will be brought up at the opening meetings. Although a good deal of attention will be paid to the suggestions of the smaller countries, they will be reminded that the first and most important thing, even for their own existence and independence, is to have a world organization agreed upon by all the major powers. (See also p. 2, col. 1.)

THE SAME OLD GAME

Aryans Versus "Aryans"

Pale, almost with tears in his eyes, the Norwegian Minister of Justice, Terje Wold, declared, after a visit to the Russian-liberated territories of Norway, "The destruction is worse than anything the most pessimistic imagination could conjure up. It was no panic measure of the Germans. Everything was cold-bloodedly planned in advance."

And so it was. Between Tromso and Kirkenes the Germans wiped out everything. They drove the inhabitants like cattle before them, shooting those who could not go along. Only in one place, in Vardo, did they leave anyone behind. This was an old woman of ninety-two. Her sons tried to pull her onto the boat onto which they were being herded by the Germans, but the guards dragged them away and beat them. The old woman was left alone, helpless, on the quayside—the only inhabitant in Vardo.

Thus in the North as in the East, the murder machine, organized on a mass scale, continues as before against "inferior" Jews, Russians, Poles, Czechs and "Aryan" Norwegians.

On the white plains of Finmark, hatred of the Nazis grows.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

The Coming Secretary-General

At the United Nations Conference the appointment of a General Secretary of the United Nations will be made public. He will have the highest international job, since he will represent some forty governments. If there is no agreement on a citizen of one of the Big Four, then a man from some smaller country—perhaps Walter Nash, Finance Minister of New Zealand—has a good chance.

Who Will Head the National Delegations?

The Secretaries of State of the various countries will head their respective delegations. At first it was hoped that the Chiefs-of-State of the various countries—Roosevelt, Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill, De Gaulle, Benes, etc.—would themselves attend, but later it was found that it would still be too difficult for these leaders to leave their countries. Therefore the seconds-in-rank will head the delegations.

At this conference, for the first time in history, a considerable number of women will be present as official delegates.

Pride Goeth Before—

A FREE WORLD citation to Captain Ralph Hill, in charge of the "displaced persons section" of the U. S. Army in Alsdorf, Germany. In this drab coal-mining town he found 150 Polish, Yugoslav, Czech, and Russian workers whom the Nazis sent here to work under humiliating conditions, but who now have been assigned to the best homes of Alsdorf with window panes replaced, furniture provided, even radios in some cases, and "every comfort possible under war-front conditions."

This seems to us an incident which should become a precedent.

THE SAME OLD GAME

Algiers, Anzio, Athens, and Aachen

When we landed in Algiers, "military expediency" impelled our authorities to deal with Darlan, Giraud and other ex-fascists and semi-fascists.

When our troops were holding the Anzio beach-head, our military authorities preferred to deal with the safely conservative Prince Torlonia rather than with "uncertain" elements among the common people.

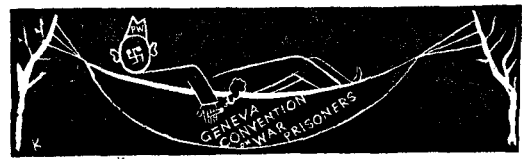
When the British "liberated" Athens, they preferred to deal with the safely conservative General Plastiras rather than the left-wing People's Army of National Liberation.

Now it is reported that our military authorities have preferred to entrust the government of Aachen, not to available Socialist leaders about whom they are "uncertain," but to a pair of German industrialists who for years worked with the Nazis, but now call themselves conservative Catholics.

Militarily we are now in Aachen. Politically we seem to be still in Algiers.

America's Exiles

The State Department has a new Siberia. Men in the European Division who show signs of thinking for themselves are winding up in Afghanistan. Eli Palmer, the newly appointed Minister and Elbert Matthews, the No. 2 man are good examples.



Dietary Datum

To the hard-boiled Germans our careful observance of the Geneva Convention seems soft-headed democratic weakness. Their treatment of prisoners includes packing them tight in cattle cars and feeding them "greasy water with a few potato peels." But in France today, as reported by our friend William L. Shirer, when truck-loads of prisoners are driven through villages, the Nazis take particular delight in waving their sausage and white bread at the French people, who have not seen white bread for years.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Mexico City Conference

The Inter-American conference now in session will agree unanimously on continuing methods of cooperation for the prosecution of the war. A strong move will be made to secure acceptance of the terms of the Dumbarton Oaks agreement by all Latin American countries. It is safe to assume that out of the Mexico City meeting will come a declaration favoring Dumbarton Oaks signed by all the Latin American nations with the exception of Argentina, perhaps with some slight reservations providing for consultation or representation of Latin American nations in council decisions.

Postwar economic cooperation with Latin America will be the top item on the agenda, the heart of the conference. Nelson Rockefeller will stress the fact that despite Latin America's huge dollar balance, their trade with the United States will inevitably drop off after 2 or 3 years unless the standard of living of all the peoples of these countries, not just of one class, is raised by industrial development where feasible, especially by improvements in the basic economy through health and food programs.

The Passing of Pierlot

For the last two months this column has been predicting that Pierlot must go. Now he has gone, and the Resistance movement has scored a major victory. We are convinced that the new coalition government will do much better because, instead of fighting the Resistance forces, it will lean on them.

Guatemala Acts

Cheering crowds thronged the streets of Guatemala City in celebration of the government's action in handing Spanish Minister Sanz Agero his passport and placing all Falangists on the same enemy alien list with German Nazis. Thus the people of Guatemala endorsed the genuinely democratic policies of the government junta which took over control on October 20th from Dictator Jorge Ubico, who quite naturally had "recognized Franco for reasons of personal sympathy."

THE SAME OLD GAME

Mother-in-Law Aspasia

The recent abrupt dismissing of Premier Subasich by young King Peter of Yugoslavia was prompted by the king's mother-in-law Princess Aspasia, widow of King Alexander of Greece. This was part of an attempt to revitalize the feeble monarchies of both Yugoslavia and Greece.

Princess Aspasia stage-managed an affecting scene in which the royal bride told King Peter that an heir was to be expected. Mother-in-law Aspasia followed up by nagging young husband to do something to protect the future of his royal family.

This sort of teapot tempest no doubt fascinates those who revere the ancient institution of monarchy, but it seems oddly out-of-date to those of us who put our faith in democracy.

Expedient Suggestion

For some reason apparently obscure to the authorities, the Italians are more than slow in volunteering for military service. They just cannot seem to understand why it should be more glorious to serve under Lieutenant-General Umberto than under King Victor Emanuel.

As long-range kibitzers, we might possibly be induced to disclose our infallible system for solving such problems. It is very simple: just discard the king, the queen and the knave.

The Color of Democracy

Brazilian army units serving in Italy mix their Negro, mulatto, mestizo and white citizens without distinction, thus presenting a delicate social problem to our army, with its segregated units and its segregated canteens. If we exclude Brazilian blacks and browns from our white canteens, we offend our good neighbors from south of the Rio Grande. If we do not, we irritate our good neighbors from south of the Potomac.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Under the Noses of the Nazis

Recently, in a Netherlands town still occupied by the Germans, the post-war unity of Dutch labor was organized by accredited underground representatives of the three chief trade union groups of the Netherlands: The Dutch Federations of Trade Unions with 320,000 members, the Catholic Trade Union Center with 206,000, and the Protestant labor group with 120,000.

A Joint Council has been set up to meet at least twice a month, to arbitrate differences between various unions, to represent the needs of labor to government bodies, to promote health and insurance benefits for Dutch workers, and to supervise the observance of laws, regulations, and collective agreements.

Dynamite in Denmark

The war goes on within Denmark where sabotage has been raised to the level of a fine art. During Christmas week three Copenhagen factories making military equipment were blown up: on December 28th the Haparanda plant, on the 30th a work-shop in the Store Kongensgade, on the 31st the entire Kalter works. New Year's Eve a radio-location station at Hollack was destroyed. On January 2nd the Torotor factory at Ordrup, making V2 parts, was dynamited. In retaliation, the Nazis blew up the big Tuborg brewery in Copenhagen.

Railway sabotage is so well organized and widespread that the Germans have resorted to what they call "mine sweeping," that is, pushing ahead of every train on open freight car containing Danish Resistance prisoners.

To Manila

The odds are now fifty to one that Paul V. McNutt will be renamed as High Commissioner of the Philippines. Of all those who have held this position, McNutt made perhaps the best record in administration and in popularity with the Filipinos. Former High Commissioner Francis B. Thayer will not be acceptable for reappointment, even though he is said to want his old job back. The only other competent possibilities are men who disagree with our present policy of immediate freedom for the Filipinos. Mr. McNutt is a good choice in the situation.

THE SAME OLD GAME

The Red and the Black

Headlines in the January, 1945, issue of the *Chinese-American Bulletin*, issued by the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, were:

Reds Suppressed China Missions—
Cathedral Desecrated, Bishop Exiled

U. S. Bishops Demand Leadership
to Save Peace

Dr. Carrel Given Faith at Lourdes—
Miracle Led Scientist into Church

Communistic Threat Dangerous to China—
Reds May Soon Rule World, Says Priest

Catholic Educational System in China
Developed to Embrace Entire Nation

Perhaps the most appropriate comment is found in the "Sermon on the Mount": "Blessed are the peacemakers."

Equatorial Wage Squeeze

Recent reports from Ecuador make it plain that the rosy glow from "good-neighborly" endeavors is beginning to fade. For a while workers gleefully flocked to earn the high wages offered at cinchona camps and other war projects financed by the United States. Now that these projects are being progressively liquidated, the workers are being forced back to their poorly paid regular jobs on coffee and cacao plantations or to the weaving of panama hats. Meanwhile the cost of living is rising steadily, making wartime "prosperity" a dubious boon to the Ecuadorean people.

Visas

The difficulties of obtaining visas for traveling between United Nations are great as ever. When will we learn to be friends?

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FREE WORLD

A Non-Partisan Magazine
devoted to the
United Nations and Democracy

Published monthly in eight editions

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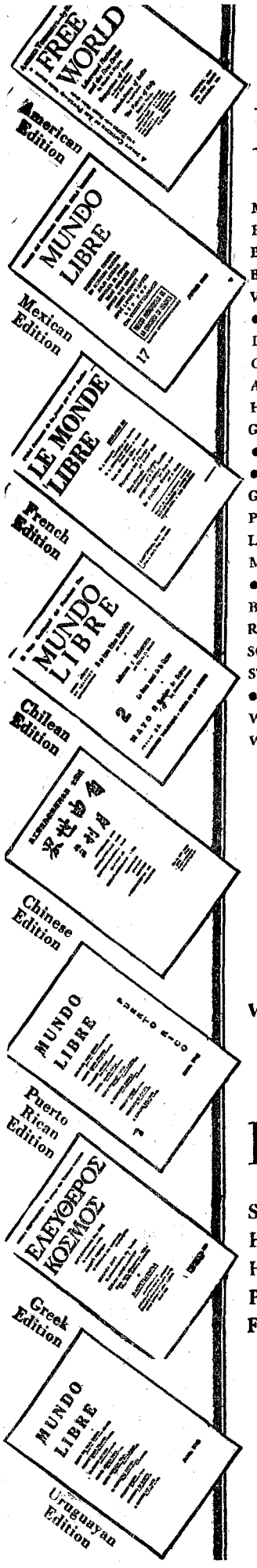

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Free Speech

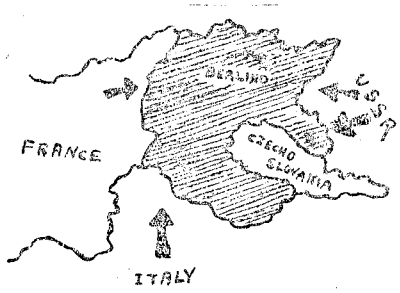
Story of A Wolf

Herr Goebbel's idea of the German Wolf has always fascinated me, but I did not realize how well his idea could be used in 1945 to show another thought: that it is better for the United Nations to "hang together than to hang separately."

I am taking the liberty of sending you these little sketches from our camp news sheet. Way back in 1938 after Germany had overrun Austria, this map of Germany was printed in Herr Goebbel's propaganda factory and millions of copies were

distributed. The text read something like this: "You poor Czechs, don't you dare to resist, with your country stuck in the Wolf's mouth. If you do, the Wolf will swallow you."

And so it happened. In March 1939 the Wolf swallowed its prey. But what's this—in 1945? G. I. Joe, John Bull, Ivan and others have got together. They are choking the Wolf by the neck. From below they are delivering a solid punch into his jaw and Ivan is digging into his most sensitive spots, his



eyes and his nose. The moral for the Wolf is: "It's unwise to swallow more than you can chew!" And for the prey: "Alone *you* are helpless, perhaps, but all together *we* are stronger than any Wolf."

Camp Barkeley, Texas. PFC. PAUL E. KING.

Newspapers—and Minds

Referring to Sir Norman Angell's recent article, "Free Press and Free Minds," there can be no free press as long as newspapers are privately owned. They serve the interests of their owners, which in the case of private persons is private profit first and public and free discussion second and incidentally. The opposition of the American Society of Newspaper Editors to government infringements upon freedom of information is dangerous in wartime; it is impossible. It is just as dangerous in peacetime, if it allows fascist-minded mongrels like Pegler to operate.

Hq. 2nd Army. T/4 C. T. WALTON.

• • •

All my life I have been concerned with the problems of economic and social justice, mercy and progress. Never have I heard a more concise and telling exposition of the heart of these problems than Sir Norman Angell's "Free Press and Free Minds." I indorse every word of it.

The greatest and most tragic time lag in education, even in these United States, has been, and I fear still is, the failure to develop a balanced and open-minded perspective on the interdependence of peoples, cultures and economic and social relationships.

Lake Worth, Fla. J. A. LEIGHTON.

• • •

Who Are Unemployables?

On page 22 of your January issue, you state: "Labor experts have pointed out that a normal labor market always includes about a million 'unemployables'."

I should be very grateful if you would define and explain the term "unemployables" as used in the sentence I have quoted. I have always been under the impression that a person could be correctly called "unemployable" only when he was very severely handicapped, either physically or mentally. Do the labor experts you mention include among the unemployables men and women over forty-five?

Berkeley, Calif. ERNESTINE CASWELL.

FREE WORLD *certainly would not include older workers among unemployables. It is our understanding, moreover, that they are not included in the estimate of a million unemployables in the normal labor market.*

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Answers to Our Forum on Compulsory War Training

With Germany and Japan shorn of aggressive power, from what quarter can come any threat to our safety to warrant the proposed hasty enactment of a peacetime compulsory law? Is there not general agreement among us that only necessity, present or foreseen, can justify such a radical departure from our American way from the beginning? It is evident enough that we must support a military force after the war, but is there any reasonable doubt that such a force can be supplied on a voluntary basis, without disrupting the program of every college and high school in the land by an annual draft?

The other reason why such action should not be taken now, if ever, is perhaps even more important. I refer to its relation to the supreme issue, next to winning the war, of the immediate future —the creation of a world scheme to assure the peace for which we are paying an infinite price. Already the discussion of the issue has had the effect, in no small degree, of diverting the minds of our people from the matter that should be their united concern, and has caused a division among them as needless as it is harmful.

In what way could we more effectively, though subtly, express to the nations overseas a lack of faith in Dumbarton Oaks, or any plan for collective security, and create among them a suspicion that in spite of our fair words, we may yet, as in the similar crisis a generation ago, decide to go it alone, than by the speedy enactment of the proposed law?

W. Hartford, Conn. ROSCOE NELSON.

• • •

We cannot create an international and effective organization if we merely express the hope that it will come into being. We must think and act in accordance with the affirmative faith and deed of men who are fighting and dying all over the world in order that the light of liberty may not be put out. It must be the creed of free men, in their last great chance to be creative and determined, to think and to act internationally, not merely negatively and nationally.

Military dilemma . . .

This collective organization must be reinforced by a collective pattern of force to prevent some other barbarians from driving away the border guards of civilization. We cannot afford to let another fascism boast of its effort to erase a thousand years from our history.

Compulsory military training is an overt confession that we do not actually have any faith of any kind of international organization. Such training, moreover, does not attain the physical, moral and educational purposes suggested. The time is not now to act finally on such a program.

It is high time that we confess that the men who are fighting should have the right to assist in arriving at any sweeping change of the American system. They are fighting for an affirmative democracy. Our nation cannot afford to unwrite its most gallant pages of history by adopting in war a negative approach to a problem that must be thought out and solved in the calmness of the hour when the lights come on again.

C. N. SISSON,
Prof., History and Social Science,
Coker College, Hartsville, S. C.

• • •

A real national-service system, which would require a year of some sort of service for everyone, females and 4-F's as well, could be made a valuable and maturing experience, Mr. Coblentz not withstanding. Even for those not usable in the conscript army, it would be a training in the sense of responsibility necessary for true citizenship. Moreover, an actual "inventory" of the aptitudes, physical fitness, mental and emotional stability and literacy of each boy or girl at eighteen or twenty-one would be full of value to an intelligent government, and eventually benefit the youth.

Mr. Coblentz has wound up his article with the fine old argument that universal conscription leads through regimentation to dictatorship. This sentiment about overall government handling is often brought up as the final answer to conscription, public works, socialized medicine or universal social insurance.

My own personal answer to this is that we American citizens do not feel that our government belongs to us. It seems to be something above and beyond us which has a few uses and more nuisance value. When every citizen has become politically and socially conscious, when each of us finds his place in the pattern and project of living together in our kind of a democracy, who will be so far outside the government as to resent its "interference?"

Norwich, Vt. ELIZABETH FLANDERS BALLARD.

• • •

I believe the military training is an asset to the "American Way of Life." Many have said a weakness of our democratic government is lack of responsibility to duty. Compulsory military training will make the nation stronger in that weak spot, as it gives a spark to that feeling of duty or responsibility.

Columbia, Mo. MRS. EMORY NASH.

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FREE WORLD Readers Reply to Poll

I cannot believe that even the most powerful, most efficient and most thoroughly armed organization of United Nations would be in a position to prevent a future war, inasmuch as it is entirely unknown who the future aggressor will be and under what pretext and motivation the next war will be waged.

The only solution to this distressing dilemma I can think of would be the complete abolition of nations as a commercial entity, as a political unit, as a military power; abolition of tariffs, abolition of frontiers, abolition of monetary systems, to be replaced by a true World Government. The activities of this government would be exclusively the distribution of raw materials and manufactured products and the administration of its various provinces, just as a city administration would be run.

This World Government would have just the one purpose: the equal and fair distribution of the products of this earth according to easily calculated relative necessities and living standards of its peoples, and nothing else. There would be no armies, no navies, no foreign offices, no diplomacies, and upkeep would be a fraction of what the different governments today cost their peoples.

New York, N. Y. HEINZ J. WARTENBERG, M.D.

• • •

Immediate steps should be taken to establish a strong international organization, based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Participation by the United States and the other great powers is a must if the organization is to be effective.

Effective and immediate action by the Security Council against an aggressor necessitates that we empower our representative to vote without recourse to Congress.

Unanimous voting in the Council seems to me unwise, and we should throw our weight against it.

An informed public opinion among all peoples will be the deciding factor in the success of the organization in maintaining peace.

Ithaca, N. Y. ALICE D. MACK.

• • •

My idea is that there should be a world police force. The number of men and the amount of equipment to be furnished by each nation should be decided by a United Nations committee elected for that purpose. This same committee should have the authority vested in it to take whatever action it deemed necessary at any time without recourse or reference to legislative bodies or rulers of any of the individual nations. Wouldn't it be rather silly if the New York police force had to await action by the state legislature each time before it could take action against a bank robber or a riot?

Washington, D. C. CHARLES H. FLAGG.

• • •

I cannot believe that a permanent peace can be had by a foundation of force applying to all the nations of the world. I do believe that a combination of force through world organization should be organized and used against Japan and Germany alone for a period of at least fifty years.

Nazi Munitions Maker Mandel: "Gott sei dank, dis Argentine sombrero fits me perfectly."

In addition to this, then have a world organization wherein nations could voluntarily belong and agree to submit any differences they had with other nations to a board for conciliation and arbitration. This would be assuming faith in our allies, and would do away with many angles of suspicion that would be bound to be a deterrent in many ways in a basic force policy applied to all nations. It would also be holding up an example of the consequences that could be expected if any nation did not cooperate within the sphere of the world policy, by leaving Japan and Germany out from participating in the general organization for keeping the peace of the world by conciliation and arbitration.

Madison, S. D. ANDREW QUIST.

• • •

The world organization itself, through its assembly (made up of equitable representatives from every nation) should have the power of deciding when the application of military force is necessary to preserve a just peace, and the organization itself should have the power to command such forces as it deems necessary for the preservation of this peace.

The world organization should have both an army and a navy of its own, strategically based on islands or other bases over the world, with these areas politically administered by the organization. With effective and practical control of the manufacture and sale of heavy military ordnance—artillery, tanks, bombing planes, etc.—and of naval craft greater than destroyers, a comparatively small international force could cope with any national uprising. Beyond this, the world organization should have the command of any and every nation represented in it, for additional force if and when necessary.

Durham, N. H. ROBERT H. GRANT.

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What To Do

With apologies to Lyov Tolstoy

Storm
Storm
Storm
War
Want
Misery.

And each asking of the other what to do
And so
Groups
Committees
Government.

In the meantime one
A small-town editor writes the truth about profit and starvation.

And one knocks at a broken door and when it opens hands in a loaf of bread.

And one, step by step, all day long, walks to this laborer and that saying united we stand, divided we fall.

And one, the workers' friend, says Vote, Speak, for you are the Government, By you your leaders rise or fall.

And one, the educator, says to the child, A. B. C. and to the adult, Learn! Know that the world grows smaller!

And one, the minister, says to all, Love thy neighbor as thyself.

And one, the lover of his fellow man says Take, from each according to his ability; Give, to each according to his need.

And so from the heart comes the answer
Of him who does and serves
That by degrees,
A new and better world
May be made.

—Theodore Dreiser

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EDITORIALS

The First Democratic Peace in History

THE statement issued on February 12, 1945, at the close of the Crimean Conference goes further than any previous Allied declaration. It excels in importance the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and the United Nations Declaration itself. Previous statements of the United Nations were merely affirmations of principles, while the Crimean Charter contains all the elements of a truly diplomatic instrument, namely, basic principles, solutions to concrete problems and foundations for a permanent world organization. The fears and anxieties which many citizens of the United Nations have had for the last few months because of growing Allied dissension have been dissipated.

Quite logically the Charter starts out with the biggest problem of all, namely, that of Germany. Without an agreement of the major powers, Germany could have become the stumbling block of the whole peace system and could even have become the scene of dangerous clashes over matters of competence among the Big Three themselves, and between them and France. It was probably the secret hope of the German General Staff that a situation would arise in which the Allied armies, advancing from all sides, might suddenly come into conflict with each other. This, like many other nazi hopes, has been scotched once and for all by the policy adopted at Yalta. The definite territorial limitations of each occupying authority have been established, as well as a central control commission composed of the representatives of the Big Three plus France. The conferees at Yalta have shown wisdom in including France in the central controlling authority over Germany, because her vital interests and her contributions to the war effort.

The program for Germany itself has been stated in the clearest terms. Its aim is not the destruction of the German people, but "to destroy German militarism and nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to destroy the peace of the world." To that end, the dissolution of every nazi and pro-nazi organization and the utter extirpation of the German General Staff is provided for. The Germans will have to make good the destruction wrought by them on so many people. This may be a lesson for the future, and may teach the Germans and other peoples the necessity of revolt against such criminals as Hitler and his gang.

The statement then proceeds with a call for an over-all United Nations Conference which will take place in San Francisco on April 25th, the aim of which will be to establish "a general international organization to maintain peace and security." The Allied statesmen at the Crimean Conference realized that it is not sufficient to prevent aggression, but that it must be the task of such a world organization

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to remove the political, economic and social causes of war. They have clearly indicated that this can be achieved only by "the close and continued collaboration of all peace-loving peoples."

The most important part of the Crimean Charter is that dealing with liberated Europe. It establishes and applies the principles of democratic self-government for every liberated territory. At this point, the principles of the Atlantic Charter are reiterated in connection with the right of the people to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This gives an even better wording of Article III of the old Atlantic Charter, because it specifically provides for democratic institutions and excludes fascism. In this connection, it is most hopeful that the necessary measures to help the liberated territories establish self-governing democratic institutions will be taken by all three governments conjointly, thus unifying the three policies which separately have created so much disturbance in the past. If we analyze this part of the Charter, in our opinion it also indicates an end of Darlanism and of any kind of cooperation with pro-Fascists. The statement also establishes the three governments' aim to help build "world order under law dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind."

The Charter then tackles the most delicate problem before the United Nations, namely, that of Poland. Here it consists of two parts: the first providing for the adoption of the Curzon Line with compensation for Poland in Germany; the second for the creation of a Polish Provisional National Unity Government composed of representatives of all democratic forces of Poland, and for a commission comprised of ambassadors of the U. S., the U. S. S. R. and England to help in the establishment of such a government.

For Yugoslavia, the statement provides for immediate creation of a united government based on the agreement previously reached by Marshal Tito and Premier Subasich, and also for the inclusion in the Provisional Anti-Fascist Assembly of members of the former Yugoslav Parliament not compromised by collaboration.

In its closing paragraphs, the Charter reiterates another principle of the Atlantic Charter, namely, the aim to "afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." As we read it, this means practically the establishment of an international bill of human rights. Under this provision, if it means what it says, every democratic citizen of any country will have the right to apply to the supreme authority of the United Nations against a violation of his fundamental rights.

In these pages, we have often called for almost every one of the points contained in the Crimean Charter, and we are very happy that at last they are included in a basic document of the United Nations. We are today more hopeful for the future of humanity than at any previous time during this war. We feel that it is now up to the people of the United Nations to give utmost support to the San Francisco Conference, and to prepare for a swift ratification of the peace treaties in all parliaments and congresses of the United Nations.

LOUIS DOLIVET.

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Support World Organization

The Editors of FREE WORLD and its affiliated magazines all over the world, namely, LE MONDE LIBRE in France, MUNDO LIBRE in Mexico, ELEFTEROS KOSMOS in Greece, MUNDO LIBRE in Uruguay, SVOBODNI SVET in Czechoslovakia, MUNDO LIBRE in Chile, TSU YU SHIH CHICH in China, and MUNDO LIBRE in Puerto Rico, and the Executive Committee of the International Free World Association, address a most urgent appeal to the citizens of all the United Nations to support by all the means in their power the forthcoming United Nations Conference in San Francisco; to write to their elected national and local representatives, to the newspapers, radio and television stations, in order to get the widest publicity for the cause of world organization. We suggest that in churches, schools, labor unions, chambers of commerce, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs everywhere, the Conference and the guarantees it can offer of world peace be the subject of round tables and meetings.

This is our greatest chance to establish a free world.

Let us act as democratic citizens of our own countries and as citizens of the world. Write for further information to Myles Standish, Executive Director, Free World Association, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

The Eleventh Hour for Relief

DESPERATE letters, messages and appeals are reaching us from France and other liberated territories. The terrible truth is that the people are suffering so much from hunger and cold, from lack of clothing and medical supplies, that the gravest apprehensions are justified. We must not forget that by now most Europeans have endured incredible physical privations for almost five years, and that there is a limit to what human beings can stand.

In the last few weeks the situation has become so bad that the people in liberated territories simply cannot go on doing their regular work any longer, be it in factories or offices. The hardest hit is Paris, where an almost Siberian cold wave is paralyzing all activities of men and women already weakened by hunger. In a report to the *Times*, it is stated that Parisians have already eaten 30,000 cats since the liberation. To match this condition one must go back seventy-five years, to the days of the Commune.

There is no coal, and no other means of heating whatsoever. Many of the people spend most of their time in bed, covering themselves with whatever bedclothes and old rugs remain; others go to their places of work, but are unable to work more than a few hours a day because their hands are freezing and their bodies shivering. Even people who have been most energetic and active under the German occupation are incapable of continuing to carry on.

Of course, one can explain this situation by the exigencies of a 100 per cent war effort against Germany, by the necessity to use whatever transportation facilities remain for the Allied armies. But this is only a partial explanation. After all, England for many years has

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been the only war center of the Allies near the European continent, and the exigencies and dangers of war were at least as severe there as they are in Europe today. And yet, England was fed—not too well, it is true—but at least the minimum requirements were provided for the people. But in Europe now there is no program operating to supply even the barest minimum needs of the people for survival.

This situation has for consequence not merely a further physical weakening of Europe. It also has bad repercussions on the political life of liberated areas. Hungry and cold citizens who have lived through many years of slavery are physically handicapped to participate fully in the process of a democratic reorganization of their country. They are at a disadvantage as compared with the conservative and reactionary elements, who are able to procure necessities on the black market, and thus are a threat to the democratic revolution in Europe.

It is our unpleasant but necessary duty to report that European public opinion is blaming the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) for the growing sufferings of the people. Since the inception of UNRRA at the historic meeting at Atlantic City in November, 1943, hope ran so high that the people naively believed that its relief columns would follow every advancing Allied unit. But now, long months after liberation, UNRRA is still conspicuously absent from most places.

The Editors of FREE WORLD know that the responsibility does not lie with UNRRA alone; that immense complications have arisen, both with the military command and also with some governments which hesitate to let the UNRRA staff enter their territories. But the situation has reached a point where rapid steps are necessary.

UNRRA is the first agency of the United Nations, and its failure or success will have great influence on the popular attitude toward the United Nations as a whole. Nothing is more dangerous in international life than an agency that is not fulfilling its promises.

The experiment of the League of Nations shows how dangerous it is from the point of view of popular attachment not to carry through the promises made in international agreements. At the head of UNRRA there is a man who is universally respected, namely; ex-Governor Herbert H. Lehman. He was the unanimous choice of all the nations participating in UNRRA, and he has the necessary moral authority all over the world to insist that his agency be granted greater powers; that it be able to go into action everywhere as soon as military security permits. Perhaps some reorganization of the staff will be necessary in order to bring in nationals from countries whose governments now hesitate to let UNRRA into their territories. In this connection, it is most important to free UNRRA of the reputation it has acquired—mistakenly, of course—that it is a purely British-American agency. It must become completely international, with the members of its staff chosen from all nations without any distinction, according to their competence. All of them must owe primary allegiance to the agency as a whole. This will greatly alleviate the existing difficulties. UNRRA still has great opportunities before it, but it is the eleventh hour.

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The End

By THOMAS MANN

He who has been called the greatest living man of letters writes the obituary of the evil that overtook the German soul.

THE destiny of the most repulsive monster of our era, National Socialism, is on the point of fulfillment—a destiny appropriate to its character, a destiny that from the start was graven on its forehead, visible to every seeing eye, a destiny whose fulfillment was always only a question of time. If its agony were only its own and not at the same time that of a great and unfortunate nation that is now suffering for its credulity, its seductibility and besottedness, its lack of political judgment, we could view the catastrophe with greater equanimity, with a colder sense of satisfaction for that which is right, just, and necessary.

If we were vindictive, we exiles who were abused as enemies of our people or, at least, as obsolete thinkers, we who were despised as representatives of "retarded humanity"—good lord!—we would be less moved than we are by the agony, the torment, the misery of the community that ejected us. But this agony far exceeds any suffering that we could ever have wished upon it. When I think back, before the beginnings of our exile, to that time of uprootment, of agitation, of anguish, of homelessness—what was our predominant emotion, our ever-recurring thought in all our personal anxiety? It was pity: anticipatory pity that certainly underestimated the time of retribution;—or the full answer to the question, "What is to become of these people?"

I turn the pages of my diary of twelve years ago, to the years 1933 and 1934, that time when the din of narcotizing festivities, of unwarranted jubilation over victories and liberty echoed from Germany to the adjacent countries, with its accompaniment of church bells and paeons, flags and endless Roman holidays by decree of the people, the government, the party. It was a time when the sight of the infamous internal war of revenge, of justice gagged to suffocation, of violence and supreme falsehood shook my heart with horror and bitterness.

Here are the words of my diary: "We are profoundly aware that these fools, these unmitigated bunglers, will come to a bad end. And what then? What will become of this unfortunate German people, now intoxicated with pseudo-happiness? What disappointments will it have to swallow, what physical and spiritual catastrophes are reserved for it? The awakening which awaits it will be ten times more horrible than that of 1918." And again: "Pity, from the first moment, for the people that saw the shipwreck of all its great hopes and that is now to experience the frustration of the ultimate pledge of its faith. What is shortly to become of the people who have staked such a measure of faith in falsehood? But I doubt whether pity is appropriate in view of the degree of delusion, the lack of sense for the evil, that this people demonstrates in its faith."

After all that has happened, this doubt of the propriety of pity is more vivid today than ever. The "lack of sense for the evil," for the obviously and unequivocally wicked, that large masses of the German people have shown, was and always will be crim-

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inal. The tremendous spree that this ever thrill-greedy nation imbibed from the poisoned gin of nationalism, ladled out by fools and liars, this spree in the course of which it committed unnumbered crimes, this spree must be paid for.

Guilt of the People

IT is impossible to demand of the abused nations of Europe, of the world, that they shall draw a neat dividing line between "Nazism" and the German people. If there is such a thing as a people, if there is such a thing as a Germany as an historical entity, then there is also such a thing as responsibility, – quite independent of the precarious concept of "guilt." The world has gone through five years of a war full of suffering and sacrifice, a war unleashed by Germany; and from the very first day of this war Germany's opponents were faced by the combined German ingenuity, courage, intelligence, discipline, military efficiency,—in short, by the whole power of the German nation, which stood as such behind the regime and fought its battles. They were not faced by Hitler and Himmler, who would be nothing at all if the strength and blind loyalty of German manhood were not fighting and dying with misguided valor for these criminals to this very day.

No one can deny that the "national awakening" of 1933, this delirium that carried the seeds of war in it, possessed the uncanny power of a genuine revolution. But hopelessness and damnation were written on its features. "Great revolutions," I wrote in my diary at that time, "usually attract the sympathy and admiration of the world by their bloody and passionate generosity. That was true of the Russian revolution as well as of the French, which deeply moved all thinking and feeling intellects in the world.

"What is there about this 'German' revolution that isolates the country and breeds only uncomprehending loathing roundabout? . . . It boasts of its bloodlessness and yet it is the most vindictive and bloodthirsty that ever was. Its basic character, no matter what one may imagine, is *not* exaltation, joy, nobility, love, which might always be connected with great blood sacrifices to faith and to the future of mankind—but hatred, resentment, vengeance, baseness. It could be much bloodier and the world would still admire it, if it were at the same time finer, brighter, nobler. . . . It was left for the Germans to bring about a revolution of a character never seen before: a revolution without ideas, opposed to ideas, to everything higher, better, decent, opposed to liberty, truth, and justice. Nothing like it has ever occurred in human history. And all this is accompanied by tremendous rejoicing of the masses who believe they have accomplished their intent, while, in reality, they have only been deceived by mad cunning, a fact which as yet they do not dare admit to themselves. And behind it all lies the absolute certainty on the part of the better people that everything is headed for a horrible catastrophe.

"A fact which as yet they do not dare admit to themselves." At the risk of appearing to deny German responsibility and to advocate a soft peace, I shall not conceal what I knew at that time, namely the rapidity with which disillusionment, uneasiness, anxious doubts spread through the land; the rapidity with which the "democratic" self-identification of the rulers with the people became an impudent piece of fiction. For I saw the nation and felt with it that it had walked into a trap from which, partly out of stubbornness and partly out of weakness, it could now no longer escape.

"I have an inner conviction," I wrote for myself alone, "that three-fourths of the people, no, seven-eighths, or, to be more exact, that the people as a whole are filled with a deep-rooted dread of their leaders and of the situation into which they have been led. Indifference, fatalism, hopelessness are the 'bearers' and supporters of the regime, rather than faith and enthusiasm. A cowering watching and waiting prevails, passively ominous, pessimistically curious. These people would sigh with relief, as though freed of a nightmare, if it were all over, and assistance from the outside would scarcely meet with indignation or even with astonishment."

That is what I wrote and I cannot deny it. What I saw at that time was a people lashed and intoxicated again and again

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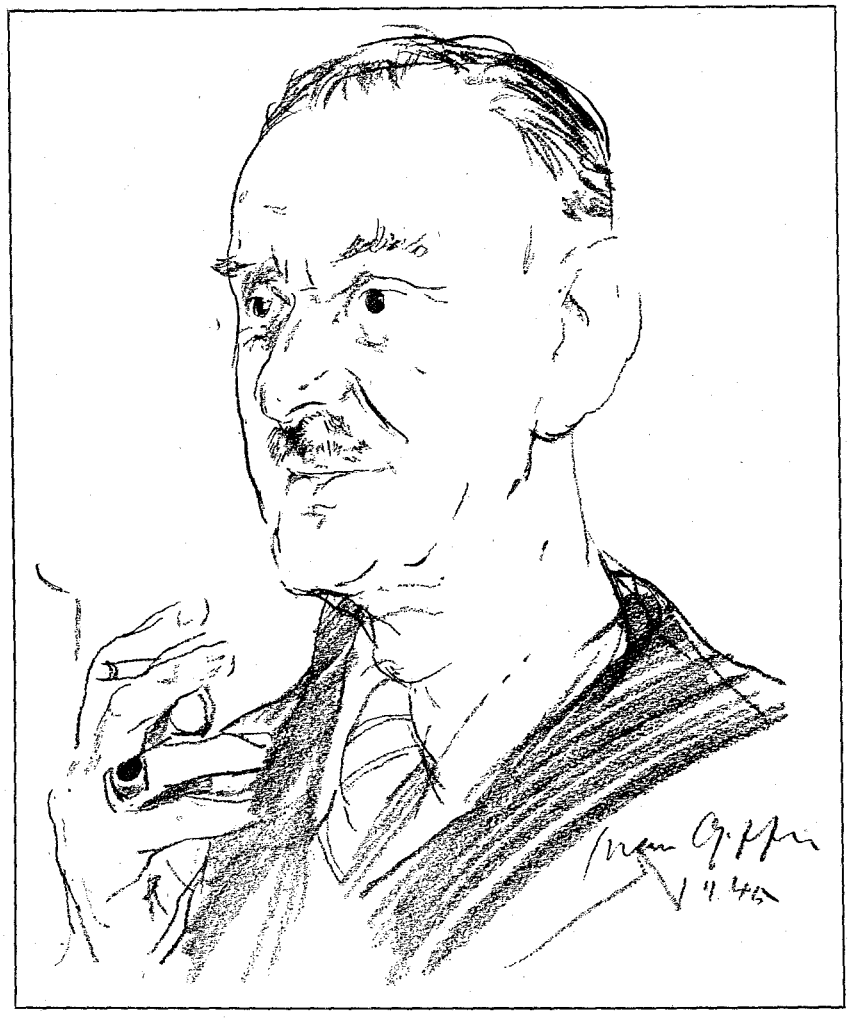

into a nationalistic and falsely revolutionary frenzy, but a people nevertheless depressed, fearful of future ills, fatalistically indifferent; a people that seized avidly upon every foreign newspaper and that saw itself delivered up to a questionable adventure without the slightest chance of resistance. The people foresaw every conceivable misfortune, war, economic catastrophe, dissolution of the nation, disquieted, as they were, by their ignorance, by their impotence in the face of propaganda, by a thousand horrors that took place in their midst, and by their moral isolation.

These are not expressions that I am coining today after a long interval; I used them at that time. Moreover, the condition which I called "an internal war of revenge" had soon developed into a state of war with the outside world, an ersatz-war of hopeless isolation, war autarchy, and of the carefully nurtured popular delusion that the German people were the champions of truth against untruth and that all evil and wickedness in the world had maliciously united against the country that could bring salvation. . . . But every state of war, genuine or pretended, brings the people and its government closer together, achieves the emergency identification of nation and regime.

As time passed it seemed that things had always been like this and that they had to be so. The regime was not only recognized abroad but its interests were even promoted,—partly for the sake of peace and partly out of admiration for a country that denied labor the right to strike. The older generation resigned and a young generation grew up that knew nothing but the "heroic life."

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Then the war came, the real war, which to an uncritical people like the Germans, is simply a challenge to its manhood, its biological soundness, its willingness to sacrifice. The Germans did their best—and their worst. In their name, through their hands, bestial rulers committed atrocities at which the heart of humanity trembles,—unatonable, unforgettable. At the same time the war was lost as soon as the "blitz" had—once more—failed. As long as possible they refused to recognize the fact, and when they finally did recognize it, then ingrained fanaticism and Gothic pathos in the face of destruction were made to replace the lost faith in victory.

It was a terrible sight to see an entire nation gambling desperately and rushing to hell with its eyes wide open. Attempts to break away, to unseat the regime, to save what of substance and of future might still be saved, failed ignominiously. Never had a nation acquired more cruel rulers, masters who more ruthlessly insisted that it should perish with them.

The national catastrophe which the regime carried in its bosom is at hand. For twelve years we had to wait for it with a mingling of horror and hope. Yes, we wished it—for the sake of the logic of morality, out of genuine hatred, out of desire for the punishment of absurd wickedness in accord with the moral lesson. And now that the debacle is here, ruin of unprecedented extent, an all-embracing, moral, spiritual, military, economic bankruptcy without parallel,—now our pity for so much misguided history, for so much imprudence, for so much loyalty to dead ideals, for so much defiance of the real demands of the present world,—now our pity nevertheless equals our satisfaction: it is a pity that is by no means purely altruistic, for everything German is concerned and is placed in jeopardy, including the German spirit, German thought, the German word; and we are forced to face the question whether in future "Germany" in any of its manifestations can dare to open its lips in human affairs.

Satisfaction? Certainly, we experience it. The disgrace of a disgraceful philosophy that tortured and exiled us; the exposure of the lame-brained, sycophant intellectuals who mistook the vilest travesty of Germanism for the real thing and who saw in a disgusting clown, a hysterical swindler, the "savior," the "charismatic leader"; who spinelessly took part in every abjectness, prating the while of "change in spiritual structure," for which "the old standards were no longer valid"—I can still hear them.

The downfall of National Socialism into limbo, into the underworld to which it always belonged—for it was scum of the underworld, the lowest, that had risen with it to the surface—why should it not fill us with satisfaction! And more than satisfaction—it is comfort and bliss to experience the restitution of the honor and liberty of the European peoples, particularly the renascence of France from the deepest humiliation.

But at what cost! What incalculable destruction has been wrought by the folly, the besottedness, the political mysticism of a people,—of our people! How will it be to belong to a nation, to work in the spiritual tradition of a nation that never knew how to become a nation, and under whose desperate, megalomaniac efforts to become a nation the world has had to suffer so much! To be a German author—what will that be? Back of every sentence that we construct in our language stands a broken, a spiritually burnt-out people, bewildered about itself and its history; a people that, according to reports, despairs of ever governing itself and prefers to become a colony of foreign powers; a people that will have to live in solitary confinement, like the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto, because the fearful accumulation of hatred round about will not permit it to emerge from its boundaries,—a people that can never show its face again.

One thing is certain: there must be an end of the martial Reich that never understood the meaning of the word "liberty"; that regarded as "liberty" only its own right to enslave others. The mechanized romanticism called Germany was such a curse for the world that no measure whatever that tends to destroy it as a state of mind can be disapproved. The hope remains that, with the cooperation of the German will itself, purified by cruel suffering, a form of government and of life for the German people may be found that will encourage the development of its best powers and educate it to become a sincere co-worker for a brighter future of mankind.

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The Three Biggest Men In The World

BY

LOUIS DOLIVET

Because they are the leaders of the three most powerful nations in the world today, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill have immense power for good or for evil. It may be recorded in history long after our time that their amazing friendship and their willingness to reach personal accord in spite of important differences, was the primary factor that made possible a turning point desired by all humanity, from carnage to universal peace.

NEVER before have three men been more responsible for the making of history than Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill.

Their faces are familiar to almost all the inhabitants of the earth; their voices are known to almost everyone; and they could walk down the streets of any city of the civilized world and be recognized immediately. While leaders often come and go, or while the interest of the people in them fluctuates, these three last and they are constantly increasing in stature. It is difficult to envisage the world of today without the "Big Three" – whether one likes them or not.

Roosevelt and Stalin have been the leaders of their countries since long before the outbreak of this war, while Churchill was able to assume decisive leadership only because of the war. None of the people of the three countries knew exactly what the value of these men would be at the helm of the most desperate and gigantic war in history. But now, not only the people of their own countries, but the whole world knows that their strategic genius matches their political ability.

And yet until recently the greatest test was still to come—the test of peacemaking, which at last has begun. From the outset the prospect was for a fascinating encounter of three powerful, different individualities, but not for unity and mutual concessions. No three men could be more different, with backgrounds so opposed, as those of the patrician intellectual Roosevelt; the empire-conscious descendant of the Duke of Marlborough, Churchill; and the revolutionist son of a humble Georgian family, Stalin.

The danger to the very existence of their countries has forced these three men to wage together a global war. For that there was no major difficulty: their peoples and their armies were unanimously behind them; their aim – victory + was identical. But already at Teheran and even more, at Yalta, new psychological and political elements entered into the picture, which previously was purely military. One could

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have feared that peacemaking, being such a different thing from waging war, would bring into the open their contradictory views and tempers. The unanimity of their peoples which had served them as a secure backbone, was no longer there. Even in Russia, with a state-controlled press, letters to the editors of trade-union papers such as *War and the Working Class* indicate marked differences of public opinion with regard to the coming peace treaty.

Under such circumstances much depended and much will depend on the three men themselves. That is where personal traits, political habits, ability to seek and to accept compromise grow into history-making factors.

Already at Teheran it appeared that a relatively close relationship of mutual trust began to be established between the three men. But now at Yalta, there are signs of a real friendship which, paradoxically enough, is strengthened by the diversity of their backgrounds and of their domestic political philosophies.

A study of the political thinking of the three men illustrates why this friendship has become possible.

Roosevelt

Roosevelt was reared in the principles of democracy—freedom for nations as well as freedom for individuals. He instinctively dislikes the idea of any kind of pressure or coercion. Without subscribing to any dogmatic theory, without attaching himself to any given program, he tries to work out pragmatically methods which will help raise the standards of living and which will create an economic security enabling people to enjoy the benefits of freedom.

Roosevelt revolts against the idea that there are incurable problems. He who has personally fought physical disability, has kept the conviction that every social disease eventually can be conquered. To him, the principal function of democratic government is to protect people against disaster. In his second Inaugural Address, he insisted that he and his government had dedicated themselves "to the fulfillment of a vision—to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness."

F. D. R. On Dictatorship

ROOSEVELT likes planning, but he hates dictatorship. The three reasons he gives for disliking dictatorship are interesting. Said Roosevelt:

a. "I have no inclination to be a dictator;

b. I have none of the qualifications which would make me a successful dictator;

c. I have too much historical background and too much knowledge of existing dictatorships to make me desire any form of dictatorship for a democracy like the United States of America."

His interest in international affairs, while always a personal hobby, was not an essential part of his policy as President in the early years. He did not feel that he could decide reorientation of American foreign policy before the people realized for themselves the dangers resulting to them from fascism and aggression. In each of his steps in international policy, he has therefore been very careful not to offend American public opinion, and not to be too far ahead of it. In the case of the Spanish civil war, for example, the President realized the nature of fascist intervention in that country, but he was not ready to involve the United States before public opinion was psychologically prepared to understand international developments. Instead of taking action in the international political field, he was satisfied to acquaint American public opinion, from time to time, with the problems of interdependence.

His famous "Quarantine" speech in Chicago on October 5, 1937, already contains many of the principles which we find today in the decisions of the Crimean Conference, where his influence can be directly detected. He states:

"There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which

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makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all."

After the fall of France, President Roosevelt accepted for the first time to move ahead of public opinion, because he knew that England was the last remaining democratic bastion in the West and that, if it should fall, America herself would be in danger of invasion. Therefore, he acted quickly. He made the famous destroyer deal, established the Lend-Lease system, set up with Churchill the Atlantic Charter and prepared the general mobilization of American resources and manpower for all eventualities. At the same time he pursued relentlessly the education of public opinion on world affairs, prepared the people of America for something more than a wartime alliance.

After December 7th, it became clear what this preparation was for. The preparation was for the establishment of a permanent world organization formed by the United Nations. Mr. Roosevelt's idea was to draft and formulate principles and methods of action for the United Nations in line with the development of American public opinion. That is why, at certain moments, he slowed down the development of the United Nations because he felt a certain hesitation. But during the last electoral campaign, the President realized how completely the problems of world organization and of full employment after the war have become the main preoccupations of U. S. public opinion. Knowing that both depended on an effective world organization he went to Yalta with the determination to get that world organization, feeling confident that the people were ready for it.

Stalin

Joseph Stalin's life started in entirely different circumstances, and on completely different premises. His youth was not one of security. His political fight was not one of free discussion. It was one of constant danger from a terroristic tsarist police; it was one of hiding and conspiracy; one of being shot at or hanged or put into prison for every free utterance.

Stalin was and is an adept of a definite school of political and economic life—the school contained in the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. He did not come into power, and he does not exercise it, on the assumption that he is creating something new. His greatest desire is to be the administrator of the ideas of his masters in modern socialism. He often likes to be called their disciple. He does not like the term of "Stalinism," because he does not want to be the founder of a new school.

Perhaps Stalin's psychology could be understood by stating it in the following way. He would not like to have his name replace those of the founders of Marxism,

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but to have it added to their names, which desire is often satisfied in the Russian press.

One day, the well-known writer Emil Ludwig asked Stalin whether the fact that he was a revolutionary was due to ill-treatment in his childhood by his parents. Stalin replied that his parents did not maltreat him at all, and he said he became a revolutionary because he thought the Marxists were right. Stalin is not a fanatic, and he adapts his policies to circumstances as they arise, but without abandoning his belief in the validity of the Marxist doctrine.

Stalin On Fear

ON another occasion Stalin stated that **"The most unseemly malady which can attack a leader is fear of the masses."**

Stalin's psychology is deeply influenced by the experiences of his youth and by the struggles in the early years of his coming into power. At times he has hit very hard at his opponents in the Communist Party and in the Government. He has learned often to be on the defensive, because he has often been in danger. Stalin prides himself on having adapted the Marxist doctrine to the present-day situation. Those adaptations are illustrated by the changes in the policies of the Soviet Government both internally and externally. He likes new ideas, new methods of presentation, new inventions. He likes a solid explanation of facts and he himself gives abundant arguments for the things he says and does.

As a result of his personal experiences, Stalin is suspicious. It takes a long time to win his confidence. He has a natural distrust of bourgeois foreign policies, feeling that they might work against Russia.

He has entirely different views from those of Roosevelt regarding coercion, because he believes that coercion exists everywhere, even in democracies.

Having not only abandoned but fought sharply the protagonists of the permanent revolution, Stalin concentrated on creating what he calls "socialism in one country." This led to the theory of the coexistence of capitalist democracies and of the Soviet concept. The results of the cooperation of the Allies during the war have strengthened him in this conviction, and the plans that Stalin and his advisers have prepared for the reconstruction of Russia clearly indicate that they are counting on a long period of peace and economic cooperation, particularly with the United States. The signs of friendship which were reiterated to Stalin by Roosevelt and Churchill, the uninterrupted Lend-Lease operations, and particularly the attack on the Western front, have greatly reduced Stalin's suspicions and have put him into a mood of conciliation and concession for the Crimean Conference. Due to this growing conviction of the strengthening of the unity of the Allies, Stalin too went to Yalta with the determination to succeed.

Churchill

Of the three, Winston Churchill is least a reformer. His main preoccupation lies in immediate problems which he tries to solve energetically. He is a dynamic force and does not accept to be stopped by the usual obstacles of political life in a parliamentary regime. When he undertook the task of organizing England for an unremitting war, he did so without worrying about tradition, never hesitating to adopt whatever solution was necessary. His far-reaching tax measures and his rejuvenation of the naval, military, and diplomatic staffs against all seniority and aristocratic prerogatives, confirm his qualities as a fighter and as an organizer in an emergency.

Churchill was one of the men who realized at an early date the dangers of aggression. In 1936 he clearly indicated that war would not be stopped by pious sentiments and appeals. He wanted the democratic forces of the world invested with overwhelming power in such a way as to get five or ten on one side so that no one would be able to attack.

Churchill On Security

WITH the aggravation of international troubles, Churchill, on March 14, 1938, insisted on the need for collective security:

"What is there ridiculous about collective security? The only thing that is

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ridiculous about it is that we have not got it.

"If a number of States were assembled around Great Britain and France in a solemn treaty for mutual defense against aggression; if they had their forces marshalled in what you may call a Grand Alliance; if they had their Staff arrangements concerted; if all this rested, as it can honorably rest, upon the Covenant of the League of Nations; if that were sustained, as it would be, by the moral sense of the world; and if it were done in the year 1938—and believe me, it may be the last chance there will be for doing it—then I say that you might even now arrest this approaching war."

After the Munich Agreement, in his speech in the House of Commons, Churchill warned those who were being taken in by the easy and superficial optimism of Mr. Chamberlain. He said to the House:

"Do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial rigor, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time."

Churchill supports the existing economic and social regime of the British Empire as it stands, and it is possible that later his belief in the necessity for international organization may clash with his feeling that the Empire needs no further alterations.

In 1943, as soon as Churchill felt the situation of Britain less dangerous, his conservative and traditional attachment to the existing setup in England and in the British Empire was again reiterated. With a small part of his energies released from the war, he began to hit harder at his parliamentary and other political opponents. He did not want to accept any plan which might be presented in opposition against him. That is why he did not accept the Beveridge Plan, but instructed his Cabinet to make a plan of their own which, on many points, resembled the one he rejected.

But in 1944 Churchill began to realize with his quick perception of the international developments that Britain, in order to survive, both economically and strategically, needed as far-reaching a world organization as wartime alliances. For a short while, Churchill and his Government played with the idea of a Western pact, but on closer examination, the difficulties appeared to be so great, the strength of Russia and America was so vast, that no regional pact seemed sufficient to solve Britain's problems.

Therefore, during the last few weeks before Yalta, Churchill was more than ever determined to make a success of the meeting. He was much readier for concessions than at Teheran, but with more assurance that neither of his two partners had an interest or desire to create a hostile bloc against Britain.

Thus three men, who have the ambition to have their work last longer than their terms in office, and who have engaged all the forces of their people in a life and death struggle, came to Yalta with conflicting interests and concepts, but with the firm determination not to return to their peoples with empty hands. They knew that this time nothing but a global agreement as complete as their agreement on military strategy, could satisfy the people at home who during the last few months began to be worried by the lack of common policies.

The Conference was a friendly game of give and take, in which each knew how far the two others would go in concessions. It was clear that it would not be difficult to maintain a cordial atmosphere, because a few years of common war had already created something which superimposed upon the old distrusts a strong sense of confidence.

Whether the concessions at Yalta and the amazing friendship which has grown up between the three biggest men in the world, will result in a lasting peace or not is no longer in their hands at this stage. It goes back to their people and to the people of all the United Nations. A war can be launched by leaders, but only people can maintain peace.

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Gigantic Planning

Secret of the Soviet Steam Roller

BY
RENÉ LAVIGNE

MOSCOW, autumn of 1944. A pale sun gilds the domes of a thousand churches. The streets are thronged with men on furlough from all corners of Russia, who marvel at the city's wonders: the subway with its multi-colored posters, the statues, the museums, the Opera, the Red Square, the ballet, the motion pictures.

In the factories, people are working day and night. The offices of the commissariats are lighted day and night. The agonizing days of the autumn of 1941 are no more than heroic memories. The Red Army marches inexorably toward the West. After the summer offensive, a winter offensive.

The German thesis that the Russians could not advance in winter has been disproved. By the cohesion, the unity, the efficiency of its command, the Red Army has vanquished all the obstacles that climate creates. Thus, for Germany, no respite. The Russian offensive will unleash a torrent of steel and of fire on the soil of Germany in the torrid days of summer, in the rains of autumn and in the glacial cold of winter. The offensive will come at the exact hour decreed.

This major decision will emanate from the "stavka," or general staff of the army. The composition of this staff of "supreme command" has never been fully revealed to the public. Its head is Marshal Stalin, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies. At his side are Marshal Voroshiloff and Marshal Timoshenko. The former has been a close friend of Stalin since 1918; the latter is the hero of the dark days of 1941 and 1942.

To this trio of veterans, other names must be added, men who yesterday were unknown. There is Marshal Zhukov, weighted with the honors of his military exploits, and on whom an official decree has just conferred the glory of having a bronze bust of himself erected in his home town. There is Marshal Voronov of the artillery, who has proved that this weapon is the true goddess of war. There is Marshal Vorobiev, of the engineering corps whose imagination and whose knowledge of technical matters has permitted the Russians to force every natural barrier whatsoever.

Besides these chiefs, the "stavka" has attached to it the best technicians of industry and of all the fields which contribute to modern warfare. These collaborators are numerous, and the variety of their knowledge in all matters permits the general staff to resolve problems swiftly.

The offices of the "stavka" are situated in Moscow, but outside the Kremlin. Marshal Stalin divides his time between his office in the Kremlin and the room, its walls hung with maps, where the general staff meets.

The preparation of one of those decisions which tomorrow will make history has two phases: the first industrial, the second military.

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The first step has for its objective to intensify the production of certain weapons indicated by the character of the territory to be attacked. Soviet war industry is divided into numerous branches; at the head of each branch is often placed a man who enjoys the rank of commissar.

A commissar for the production of tanks has his section better in hand than the chief of a ministry of armament. Factories which understand the urgency of the orders they execute give the workers a sense of competition in filling those orders rapidly for the troops at the front. The magic word is "Dlia Fronta"—"for the front" in all Russian factories. The results of production are announced in the papers which each factory publishes, or posts on its walls. The factory which obtains the best results receives the flag of honor of the Commissariat of National Defense. This flag flies over the factory as long as its record is maintained. It passes to another factory when its record has been surpassed.

While this industrial phase is in course of development, a delegate of the general staff is designated to prepare the military phase. He enjoys unlimited powers and is responsible only to the "stavka." He holds conferences with the commanding officers of the various army groups, and establishes on the spot the plans for the offensive. One of his studies which is the most minute relates to the character of the terrain to be invaded, and is based on the reports of the intelligence service, gathered from the officers of the battalions and on up to colonels and generals.

In this preparatory stage aviation reconnaissance plays an important role, photographing the movements of enemy troops and determining the location of their batteries and the distribution of their positions of strength.

Immediately behind the front munitions are accumulated, with reserves of those weapons which a long engagement may risk using up. Before the war some experts talked of the weakness of the Russian transport system. But events have proved that the functioning of transportation has attained an unrivaled efficiency. The railroad lines are repaired on the spot by special detachments that follow hard on the heels of the army. Moreover, the Russian army has put to good use the enormous number of trucks furnished it by the United States.

At night, stocks are moved up to the front, carefully camouflaged, and arranged in such manner as to follow without loss of time the progress of the army.

Hour H arrives. It is the hour for the artillery and aviation. Suddenly the earth trembles. Twenty thousand cannon belch fire at the same time. Such is the unimaginable number of guns which the Russians concentrate on a front of forty miles. It goes without saying that the fire is particularly intense at the spot selected for the principal break-through.

The successes achieved by Soviet artillery could fill volumes. The Russians know it, and that is why the Government has decreed that November 19 shall every year be celebrated as Artillery Day, in remembrance of November 19, 1942, when the artillery opened the Russian drive on Stalingrad. The art of utilizing the artillery is constantly being improved, since there has been occasion to study this throughout the whole course of the Russian offensive.

The plan for employing the artillery is made in accordance with the task assigned to the front-line command. The general staff of the front consists of representatives of all the branches of the service, and it is from this source that the artillery receives its assignment in the movement.

If the enemy defenses include permanent structures of concrete, a group of so-called demolition artillery is assigned the task of pulverizing the pillboxes and the long-established line of fortifications. To silence the enemy batteries and destroy objectives behind the enemy front another group of artillery is formed, called the "far-action" artillery. These groups possess batteries of cannons of 107, 122 and 152 mm. They go into action against enemy positions back to a depth of 25 kilometers behind the enemy front, wherever these positions may retard the Russian advance.

But the most numerous artillery formations are those that support the infantry in its offensive march. The caliber of the guns and mine-throwers varies in these groups from 76 to 152 mm.

The ensemble of these groups is concentrated at the front at a position designated

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after careful investigation for the advance. The Russian experts are very insistent on the importance of the period of planning.

Customarily, hundreds of cannon are brought up the night of the offensive to the front line, taking by surprise the reconnaissance arm of the enemy. The commands of the batteries open fire on the objectives. The attack begins with a destructive bombardment lasting two or three hours. It is overwhelming in its power but skillful techniques multiply its brute force. For instance, the shelling of the defense positions is lifted suddenly. Expecting an attack, the Germans rush up from their dug-out into their trenches. And the barrage falls again in the trench-line with deadly effect.

It is not astonishing that the artillery has become the terror of the German infantry. German prisoners confess that it is something which psychologically is difficult to endure.

After the thunder of the artillery comes the moment of more decisive action. The objective must be obtained as swiftly as possible. The idea is to penetrate the enemy lines in depth, in order to disorganize his lines of communication and paralyze his centers of resistance. A Russian military expert, Colonel Lozovoy-Schevtchenko, has compared the motorized and mechanized attack to a steel blade plunged into the nerve centers of the enemy's body to provoke paralysis of his vital organs. Battles are most intense near railway centers and highway junctions.

In these battles the tanks are supported by mechanized artillery and motorized infantry. When an important center of resistance is taken, part of the motorized infantry and of the artillery build up a system of defense and the tanks plunge toward objective No. 2. By radio these tanks keep Staff Headquarters informed of the progress of the battle. The major part of the infantry and artillery flow in to consolidate objective No. 1. The Russians compare this to a chain which rolls forward without being broken.

It happens of course that some of the pillboxes of the enemy continue to resist and that their fire covers a section of the terrain in such a way as to prevent the infantry from advancing. In this case the artillery seeks to reduce the resistance by direct fire. Such artillery groups are made up of elite elements chosen for their courage, their daring and for their special training. For the most part they are sergeants and officers. In each group there are engineering officers who are specialists and know how rapidly to render harmless booby traps. All the members of the group are trained to do their work swiftly and without allowing themselves to be seen by the Nazis. These men destroy points of resistance, thus permitting the infantry to proceed.

Often the Germans open a counter attack to try to dislodge the Russians from a position they have just taken, by utilizing the tanks known as Tigers and Royal Tigers and the mechanized cannon that are called Ferdinands. A major role in the defense of captured positions is played by the artillery and notably by the anti-tank guns of 45 mm. This type of cannon has been called by the Russians "golden cannon," and the soldiers feel for them a particular tenderness.

The supreme success of the plan has for objective the encirclement of the major forces of the enemy. Once accomplished the encirclement is maintained by special troops.

In an offensive of this sort a large number of planes are employed, first to prevent enemy reenforcements from arriving by air. Once air supremacy has been established, aviation must accomplish a systematic work of destruction ending either in the extermination of a large number of the enemy or in surrender.

It is for this reason that the Russians in their last offensive have shown themselves so little troubled about the centers of resistance of the enemy behind their lines. The strategy established at Moscow foresaw that these knotty points would exist. Neither Torun, nor Poznan which continued to resist, could retard the Russian advance in the direction of the Baltic on the one hand, of the Oder on the other.

Such in general is the mechanism of Soviet strategy. But if this mechanism functions with such precision it is because the men behind it do not stop at any sacrifice to attain the objectives of the High Command.

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MANILA TO TOKYO —Rough Seas Ahead

BY
HERBERT COREY

An inventory of the obstacles that lie ahead of us in the Pacific War will silence any premature victory claque from the galleries.

WE may be about to mount our surfboards and ride another wave of optimism. Manila is in our hands. MacArthur is shouting "On to Tokyo." Nimitz and his satellite fleets hold the South China Sea. Great Britain is making minatory motions toward Rangoon and Singapore. The Burma Road has been opened. General Pat Hurley, combining the best qualities of a cheer leader and Joe Louis, seems to be bringing peace toward the rival Chinese factions. One of our generals has admitted that he does not understand the strategy of the Japanese leaders. From what he has seen, he thinks they have gone crazy. Too many Americans are leaping to the conclusion that we have practically won the war in the East.

We have done no such thing.

No one in military circles whose opinion is respected suggests that we have done more than set up a marker on the road to victory. What lies ahead of us is gloomy and full of ruts. No one suggests that we will not win, but these men who should know think that if we go off on another hat-waving spree like the one that preceded Von Rundstedt's attack in Belgium, then we have demonstrated ourselves to be silly to the edge of childishness. Suppose the salient features in today's situation are considered serially.

First: The capture of Manila has a psychological value. It will impress other eastern peoples; it will bring the Filipinos to our side, and it is a solid injury to the Japanese, who like to save face as much as the Chinese do. But Manila has no military value of consequence. It affords conveniences not to be found elsewhere, but not worth risking any loss of men or material in its defense. Manila Bay is too shallow to be used as a fleet base. It is exposed to typhoons. It has a certain worth as a holding ground for destroyers and other light craft, but the heavy elements of the fleets will go elsewhere, perhaps to Subic or into the Visayan group.

The possession of Manila has a definite

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political importance for us, however. There are disaffected factions among the Filipinos, and their capacity for mischief will be lessened by the fact that we hold the capital. That is a tangible fact that the Filipinos will recognize as convincing. There are other elements who, although friendly to Americans, are at odds politically with each other. Our hold on Manila will tend to sober them.

Second: To overtake and destroy the Japanese forces on Luzon will take months of desperately hard fighting, unless authorities here are mistaken. They apply a grain of salt to the communiques that are issued by General MacArthur, for they have not forgotten that before the war broke out MacArthur insisted with conviction and great frequency that he could hold the Philippines against any troops the Japanese could send. He stands convicted of having totally misunderstood the situation at that time, and the fact that Washington sent him no aid is a further count in the indictment. If he had been less flamboyant, the argument is that he might have been given the support he needed. It is the fact, of course, that Washington at that time had neither the manpower, the supplies, nor the disposition to help him. Another fact is that while MacArthur's brilliance is freely praised, the man himself is not well liked in military circles. The personal courage he displays in the field has been shown in countless arguments with superiors. The weakness of any military organization is that the men at the top may be as stupid as sage hens, but they are, also, the men at the top.

Third: MacArthur and Nimitz are, perhaps, as good friends as two such men could be. Each admires the other. Each has a profound sense of personal responsibility. Each has a warranted pride in his achievements to date. Further progress against Japan must be accomplished by the combined use of sea, land and air forces, and to be fully effective must be under a single command. It is not thoroughly known in Washington whether either MacArthur or Nimitz has the courageous unselfishness which would enable him fully to subordinate himself to the other. There are so many arguments on each side and the conditions are certain so to shift almost from day to day, that at this moment the army and at the next moment the navy must be in control, and the sub-chiefs reporting to each are subject to the same human frailties that bother the rest of us. It is possible—and if it proves to be the case it is profoundly to be regretted—that MacArthur's further role will be the consolidation of the Philippines and that some other general officer will take up the land fighting "on to Tokyo." That this would be ordered is taken for granted in certain quarters in Washington, except for the probability that such a decision would be received with a nation-wide howl of rage. At this moment in international affairs it is not likely the administration would willingly provoke civilian dissension.

Japan No Pushover

FOURTH: Americans have shown themselves to be so superior to the enemy, ship and gun and man, when anything like equal forces are employed, that the public has failed fully to realize the immense inherent strength of the Japanese. Something like 300,000 Japanese have been killed or incapacitated to date—no definite count is possible—at a cost to ourselves of nowhere near that total. But we have been fighting the Japanese since Pearl Harbor day, and in that time, if they had wished, they could have put 3,000,000 young men in the field. They can call 1,000,000 stout young peasants to the colors in 1945 without subjecting the civil mechanism to any considerable strain. If the Japanese leaders went right to the bottom of their man pool, as Germany is doing today, it is certain that in three years they could put 6,000,000 men in the field—young plus the elder but militarily possible—without greatly impairing production at home.

Fifth: These Japanese armies can be fairly well armed, equipped and fed. We

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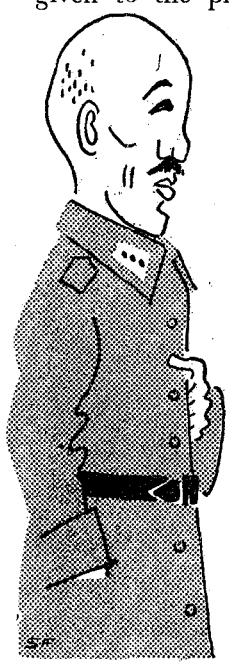
have had too much to say and we have said it too shrilly, about the lessening of Japanese resources. The fact seems to be that Japan had added potatoes to her rice diet to the great advantage of the eaters, that her troops in China and in many of the captured islands have been living off the country, and that in an unknown number of these islands the Japanese have been cultivating farms and gardens as though they had settled down permanently. Every ounce of our food, for an immense navy and army that must eventually number not less than 3,000,000 men, must be brought in by water. A slow, difficult, and costly process. No further attention will be given to the problem of logistics at this point. The reading public is fairly well acquainted with it. This much should be said.



Sixth: When Germany has been defeated a garrison army of hardly less than 1,000,000 men must be left in control. Of the remainder of the present European force many will have been incapacitated and will either be mustered out or hospitalized. Many of those still in service will be due for rest periods. It will probably be difficult to get 3,000,000 men to the Pacific front—3,000,000 combatants—for many months after the fighting in Germany is over. It is true that our shipping facilities will have been increased by whatever number of bottoms can be withdrawn from Atlantic operations, and we will at last be fighting a single-front war—or to be realistic, call it one front and a quarter. But before the pioneer detachments of fresh troops can be established on a Chinese bridgehead, important and, when the complexities are considered, potentially dangerous and certainly time-consuming operations must have been successfully concluded.

Seventh: Not a great deal of help can be hoped for from the Chinese. The quality of the Chinese armies is fairly well known now. In our eagerness to be appreciative and face-saving to the Chinese it often has been repeated that once their troops are fed, clothed, and munitioned, they are of grade A quality. In private, informed officers say this is simply not true. The men are brave, with that indifference to death that characterizes Orientals. They can live and march on incredibly small rations, and they can endure hardships as well as any man. But their officers are not well trained. Too many of them resent a white supremacy which has been dictated by white possession of the all-important goods of war.

Eighth: Graft permeates certain sectors of Chinese society, civil and military, to an incredible degree. Chiang Kai-shek has been unable to check it, for the reason that if he were to swing a hard hand his war-lords would desert him, and the rich bankers and merchants would follow them, that being the inevitable course in China of the two classes. He has been able to clean up a little bit, according to Donald Nelson, who laid down the law to the Chungking Government in very definite shell-barked terms, and no doubt hopes to hold down the graft even more. But with American supplies being routed away from the armies and into black markets and trade outlets generally, the task of incoming military chiefs is made not quite impossible, but certainly very difficult. The news of the American-supplied black markets in France throws light on the possibilities in China when we get in. The situation will be further complicated by the fact that while in France the thefts of army supplies were nothing but treasonable stealing by our own people, in China some cover to equivalent stealing

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will be accorded by the government itself. Because—

Ninth: The eyes of every man of the *ruling class—or almost every man—are* centered on the control of China after the war. The struggle is between the men of the Chungking Government on the one side and the so-called Chinese Communists on the other. These latter are not Communists in the Western sense of the word. They are what we would call reformers, solidly banded against the landlords and the bloodsucking bankers. Interest rates make those of India seem comparatively reasonable. The argument is that as soon as the Americans have driven the Japanese off Chinese soil a revolutionary war is fairly certain to begin, and our bad luck is that we have been compelled to support the grafters against the sound elements in both quarters with whom, after all, we are most in sympathy. General Hurley may be able to get some common sense into this situation. Up to this moment he has been quite miraculously successful with both sides. But the facts remain.

Tenth: The Burma Road has been opened and a slight trickle of supplies will seep in. This will be increased when we take over complete control, when we are able to guard against the thieves who line the road, and to keep what little gets in from being stolen by the bigger thieves in Chungking. But the road is almost 1,000 miles long, there are no fuel supplies along it, no machine shops worth speaking about, and the surface from an American point of view is worse than corduroy. At present any one who knows anything of truck transportation can see that a truck scheduled for a round trip must carry such a tote of gasoline and spare parts that there would be little space for pay cargo.

The trucks are running one-way only now, and on arriving at the end of the road are serviced and parked for later use when fuel can be gotten in. The guards are Chinese. The theft rate is high. This fact may be accounted for in large part by the inflation from which China is suffering. A lively man can steal enough in a night to keep himself and his family in luxury for a month. These things are bitter to relate, but they should be known.

Eleventh: Not a great deal of aid is to be anticipated from Britain, or from the minor states of France and Holland. No criticism is to be read into this statement. Full credence is given to the fact that these countries have suffered immensely during the war. Britain will certainly send a fleet, and may give some aid in manpower drawn from those elements of her land forces who see a better immediate future in her armies than in a return to a mother country which will for a time be in turmoil. Furthermore, the Indian question must be dealt with, and the prevailing opinion in Washington is that India will not be given any true form of independence, and that Britain may not find it advisable to engage too large a part of her land armies in the attack on Japan. This is not to be read as a suggestion that Britain will not be loyal to her ally the United States, but rather as a realistic appraisal of the situation. France and Holland will be engaged in an attempt to regain their possessions.

Twelfth: The fact must not be forgotten—even if it is conveniently buried from sight—that this war in the East is in fact a war to create a Yellow Empire. If the Japanese had manifested the most common kind of common sense they might have created that empire. Kindliness, what is known as good politics in the West, a willingness to cooperate and accommodate, might have won the support of the greater part of the yellow East. But the Japanese are the Japanese, and so they bombed and murdered and looted the yellow men.

These facts, and they are facts, have been rudely summed up to show that our job in the East may be long, toilsome, and bloody. There is no reason to think that the Japanese will try to make a firm peace. If they did, as Joseph Grew has warned, they could not be trusted. The one assurance of safety in the future, as it seems to military men and observers alike, is the complete destruction of Japanese power, and that appears to involve the sinking of her navy, the elimination of all her heavy industries, and an international occupation for as long a time as is necessary to convince Nippon that she is a defeated nation whose only prospect of future happiness lies in being good. *Very* good. But that will take time.

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HEADLINERS

ALBERTO TARCHIANI

By

MARION ROSSELLI

AT last the doors of the diplomatic world are beginning to swing open to a new kind of people. Men who once had the monopoly on diplomatic posts see themselves forced to give way a bit to some of the plain people of the world.

Such a man is Alberto Tarchiani. His life has been one of fight and adventure—the kind of adventure that characterized the men who plotted the American and French Revolutions.

The family of Tarchiani were anciently known in Tuscany. He himself was born in Rome in 1895. In pre-fascist Italy when the press was free, the name of Alberto Tarchiani was synonymous with that of the great Milan newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*. Washington correspondents will be happy to know that the man who represents an Italy rising from the ruins of war and fascism is a newspaper man like themselves. In his youth he had risen from a writer's job on Rome's *Tribuna* to an editor's chair on *Nuovo Giornale* in Florence, thence to his managing editorship in Milan. Always his main interest was Italy's foreign policy—just as the foreign policy of the United States must come alive to many a Washington reporter today. From such beginnings great men are often made.

After Mussolini came to power, Tarchiani became an exile from a regime that he abhorred. In 1928 having learned that Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu and others were seeking to escape from Mussolini's penal island of Lipari, he made himself a human dynamo to aid their flight, a one man army operating sometimes from Paris, sometimes from Tunis.

I know these things of Tarchiani because I had a part in them. I was living with my husband and baby on Lipari at the time. Being English, I was allowed to write (in Italian, for the censor) to my father in England. Everything my father received from me he passed on to Tarchiani in Paris. Everything Tarchiani wrote to us passed through my father's hands. Thus, by the means of a special ink, contact slowly and laboriously was established with our liberators.

The time lost in repeating instructions, in making last minute changes of plans, in skirting the many pitfalls that surrounded the prisoners was enormous. But in 1929 after twenty months Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu and Fausto Nitti escaped. Behind their success lay the patient and inconspicuous labors of Tarchiani.

Reunited in Paris, Rosselli, Lussu, Tarchiani and Alberto Cianca founded the movement called "Giustizia e Libertá," with Underground ramifications in Italy. It was the only such movement born under Italian fascism. It stood for the total negation of fascism as a method of government

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and for a new orientation based on political and economic democracy.

From the start those who were revealed as its supporters in Italy faced arrest and long prison terms. But prison has no power over the human spirit. Many of the same men today form the background of Italy's Action Party, the new party which was organized in the days of German terrorism in Rome, between the fall of Mussolini and the liberation of the city.

Tarchiani's spirit never tired of the struggle to drive the monster fascism out of his land. From outside Italy he directed an endless campaign. When the Swiss were looking for him as the culprit who had launched from their neutral soil a propaganda flight over Milan in a plane piloted by one Bassanesi, he and his co-plotter Rosselli voluntarily went to Switzerland to stand trial at Lugano. Such a trial was just what they needed. They made the Swiss Court a sounding board for their eloquent indictment of the fascist gangsters. So eloquent were they, in fact, that the Swiss jury acquitted them.

Twice, once in France and once in Germany, Tarchiani landed in prison for attempting similar propaganda flights over Milan. During those years his "home" was a modest apartment on the Left Bank in Paris, Rue de Vaugirard. There, during fifteen years of exile he made his headquarters for a penurious but active life.

In 1940 while the Germans marched on Paris, this astute and veteran "resistance" leader slipped away to Bordeaux, caught a ship for England, sailed from there to the United States. As soon as he arrived in this country he was made National Secretary of the newly founded Mazzini Society.

There was a restless drive in Tarchiani's soul that gave him no peace so long as fascism endured. The day of the invasion of North Africa he made up his mind he must get closer to the spearhead of the struggle to oust the fascist regime. His plan was to set up an anti-fascist radio station in Tunisia, directed to the Italian people on the mainland. Obstacles to his departure delayed him and his group in the United States until June 1943. Sometimes it seemed they would never win permission to leave. But Tarchiani is a patient and an obstinate man.

On September 3, 1943 two unarmed civilians stepped out of a nameless craft onto an unknown seashore of Italy. It turned out to be the coast of Paestum near Salerno. The men were Tarchiani and Alberto Cianca. They were the first of Italy's exiles to return.

Warm Days!

Tarchiani wrote to a friend in New York, "Those were very warm days, but we have come out of them with unaltered good humor and without a scratch. By unexplored paths along the seashore we arrived at Salerno on September 11, before a junction had been formed between Americans and English, divided by the German wedge at Battipaglia. At dark Salerno seemed to us—and was—a devastated and abandoned town. We passed three days there and three nights, under a continuous bombardment and intermittent gunfire, since the Nazis occupied the hills. There was no water, no light, no food. The inhabitants still left there—especially the ragged and hungry children—were a desolate sight. Yet they were almost indifferent to danger."

While the Germans were still holding Naples against the Allies word reached Tarchiani that Benedetto Croce, at Sorrento, was in danger of being seized as a hostage by the German troops. At the head of a small rescue expedition he set out at once, rescued Croce and took him to Capri.

This, then, is the ambassador Italy has sent to America, symbol of her newborn faith and hope. Italians are reassured because he is not a professional diplomat. Italy has been sorely tried by suffering and by twenty years of unnerving tyranny. She has come through the fire remade to a degree that few non-Italians can even suspect. Italians in public office, whatever their temperament, no longer use Machiavellian means for obtaining their ends.

The new ambassador did not come here because he was seeking a soft post. His avowed objective is to obtain for Italy revised armistice terms. What the armistice terms are or what they stipulate has never been made public. The very secrecy surrounding them suggests that they are severe. Is Italy to lose Trento? Or Sicily? Or Elba?

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Does Churchill intend that Italians shall stick to fascist Victor Emanuel and his son because they and Badoglio represent the best guarantee that the armistice terms will be carried out?

Rumor is rife in Italy and it does not always interpret events in a manner benevolent to the Allies. There was and there remains a great initial sympathy of the liberated country for her liberators. But sometimes the love Italians bear America seems unbearably strained.

In such a situation the man who represents Italy abroad and particularly in Washington cannot be one of devious ways or of muddled verbiage. He needs to be a plain man of good faith and integrity, one who can see the point of view of others and yet, if he thinks his own view is morally good, can stick to it with unshakable tenacity.

Tarchiani fits the definition.

Of him and his mission the *Opinione* of Rome says: "The duties of the new ambassador to Washington are vast. The award which awaits Tarchiani after twenty years of exile and of action, is the possibility of rendering our country the greatest of services. He must follow a line of foreign policy on important problems which is upright, positive and imbued with high ideals of human solidarity. Those Italians, like himself, who have suffered most have something to say to Italians and also to the residents of other lands who, during twenty-five years, were first lured by a false euphony and then so disconcerted by their tardy realization of danger that they went headfirst into the abyss which should have been so easy to detect."

Tarchiani will be no enigma for Washington diplomats to stew over. In his physical aspect they will see the mirror of the inner man. Tall, his strong face deeply lined, his light brown eyes smiling or calm, he will stand before them, a man of integrity, an internationalist who has attacked the nazi-fascist beast from springboards in France, in Switzerland, in the United States.

Mrs. Tarchiani and the children are still in France, where he was forced to leave them in 1940. He hopes he may soon be able to get them out of Europe and have them join him in Washington. When he does, the capital will have gained another accomplished linguist like himself, and a hostess noted for her vivacity.

Refugee Kraut Junker: Who, ME? Nowhere to sleep in Berlin? Der Feuhrer should strafe de Allies gut for dis!

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Free World's American Opinion Poll

It can be said of all Americans of whatever racial background, color or creed and of whatever political persuasion that they are in accord in desiring a future in which America shall be at peace. It is only when it comes to the means of bringing about such a peaceful era, as opposed to the constant overhanging threat of more and more terrifying wars, that the people of the United States divide on the methods by which their objective is to be achieved.

There was a time, and not so many years ago, when large numbers of highly intelligent Americans believed we could best secure our own peace by keeping out of the affairs of the rest of the world. Woodrow Wilson did not feel that way and he would have carried us into the old League of Nations, through which he hoped that means of checking international lawlessness and banditry could be found. His view did not prevail against the isolationist sentiment in the Congress of the United States.

It would perhaps be unfair to maintain that the absence of the United States from the League was the only reason why it failed to avert World War II. Other nations as well as our own wanted peace desperately—but not desperately enough to make the sacrifices, the effort, and to pay the high national price that peace required. Today all freedom-loving nations want peace as they never did before.

That is why plain men and women in all the walks of life are expressing their wish that the United States enter a new world organization. They are doing more than that. They are eagerly weighing in the balance the factors which can enable such an organization to function more efficiently than the old League ever did. They are, in large numbers, showing a willingness to waive precedent, to adopt new procedures, to allow their country to become a full fledged member of the family of nations, prepared to cooperate to maintain future peace.

If the figures in this poll mean anything, they mean that we have come a long way since Woodrow Wilson's time, and that since Pearl Harbor we have added realism to the idealism we hope never to lose.

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THE QUESTION

1. After the war, would you like to see the United States belong to some kind of world organization, or would you like to see us stay out?

2. If you want us to belong, would it be your opinion that the world organization would need some sort of military force to fight any country which tried to invade any other country, or do you believe that such a force would be unnecessary?

3. If you think a force would be necessary, please answer the following: When the world organization is deciding whether or not to fight any army invading a country, who should have the right to say whether the United States will help fight the invaders—should the American representative in the world organization decide, or should Congress decide? Or have you another suggestion?**

The Answers:

	The General Public	Free World Readers
PART I		
U. S. Should Belong to World Organization	62%	98%
U. S. Should Stay Out	26%	2%
No Opinion	12%	0
PART II		
Force Necessary	53%	96%
Force Unnecessary	7%	2%
No Opinion	2%	0
PART III*		
Congress Should Decide	30%	4%
U. S. Representative Should Decide	15%	62%
Other Ideas	4%	30%
No Opinion	4%	0

*These percentages total the 53% or 96% of those queried who thought force necessary.

**Other suggestions were not solicited in the general Poll.

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Comments on the Poll

RESULTS of this month's poll are distinctly encouraging from several points of view. To begin with, they indicate an ever-increasing determination on the part of a majority of the American public to have this country enter an organization to keep the peace throughout the world. Secondly, they show an increasing willingness on the part of people of many backgrounds and occupations in all parts of the United States to face realistically the problems involved in American participation in such a world organization.

Such problems of course are concerned with the actual mechanics of keeping the peace: whether force is to be used or economic measures relied upon; who in the United States shall have authority to order our military machinery into action against aggression?

Complete solutions to these knotty problems do not yet exist even in the minds of the world's greatest statesmen. Meanwhile every bit of wisdom everywhere should contribute to the decisions this nation must soon take.

It is noteworthy that in Part I of the poll, 98 per cent of FREE WORLD readers—a group who have done a great deal of reading and thinking on this issue—favored U. S. participation in a world organization, whereas only 62 per cent of the general public favored it. In the general poll 84 per cent of persons with a college background favored it, as compared with 52 per cent of persons who had a grammar school education or less. There was no apparent break along political lines; the percentages were practically the same for Roosevelt and Dewey voters.

Following are some comments of FREE WORLD readers on Part I of the poll:

"The U. S. A. should be a member of a world organization. I hope that organization will develop into a world government."

"If we are to extend the influence of our free-enterprise system and our democracy, we must join the world organization, if only to counterbalance the imperialistic and nationalistic designs of other nations."

In the general poll some isolationists made such comments as:

"Stay out. The politicians are too smart for us over in Europe."

"Let those people in Europe look out for themselves."

On the second part of the poll question—whether force is necessary to stop aggression—96 per cent of FREE WORLD readers felt that force was indispensable. Comments of readers were:

"How much good would our laws be without policemen to enforce them?"

"Why set up a security council unless we have the courage to empower it to suppress aggression?"

Comments from the general public were:

"We won't need military force after Germany is licked."

"Force is needed. If you are ready for an emergency, it rarely happens."

Part III of the poll question presents one of the most difficult problems facing our nation: if force is needed, who in America shall decide when our military machinery shall be called into action? Here, too, there was a wide divergence between the views of FREE WORLD readers and those of the public at large.

Of our readers only 4 per cent favored leaving the decision to Congress; the majority felt that such a procedure would be too slow. But 30 per cent of the general public favored leaving it to Congress. Of our readers 62 per cent, and of the general public 15 per cent thought the decision should be left in the hands of the American representative in the world organization. Thirty per cent of our readers had other ideas on how a decision might be reached. Some of their suggestions are published in our "Free Speech" column in this issue. Readers' comments were:

"The American representative should have full power to decide upon such calls to action in order to deal rapidly with modern blitz warfare."

"Congress quibbles over petty details too long."

"Our Congress does not need a vote from each state legislature before it can make a decision, even a declaration of war; why should a world organization have to get a poll of each member state?"

The need for wider understanding of the importance of the time element in suppressing aggression is shown by many comments from the general public to the effect that United States forces should be ordered into action only after a national referendum.

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The April Poll

For next month's issue, FREE WORLD asked the National Opinion Research Center to take a poll of American public opinion throughout the United States on the question which appears below. Readers of the magazine are also invited to submit their answers to this question and their views on the whole subject involved in time for publication in our next issue.

Question for April

Do you think the German *people* should be blamed for the cruelties to religious groups, the mass killings in occupied countries, and the tortures in concentration camps?

One of the most vital problems to be decided by leaders of the United Nations is what to do with Germany after this war. Some feel that a distinction must be made between the nazi leaders and the German people, and that while the former should be held accountable for war guilt, the Germans as a whole do not deserve a harsh peace such as Vansittart advocates.

Many others think that the whole German people have shared in the guilt of the leaders they chose, followed and obeyed. They see the reeducation of the German people as best accomplished through terms that exact from them labor to rebuild Europe and sacrifices to make reparation to the peoples they have looted and ill-treated.

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker St., New York 12, N. Y.

In my opinion the German people { should be blamed for..... / should not be blamed for..... } the cruelties to religious groups, and the mass killings in occupied countries and tortures in concentration camps.

Remarks: .....

.....

.....

(A letter giving your full views on this subject would also be appreciated)

Name .....

Address .....

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

BY the time these lines are in the reader's hands we may have entered a completely new phase of the war, introduced by the collapse of the German armies. It is a phase which will make even greater demands on the moral resources of men than the demands —great as they have been— made in the first phase, that of common military resistance to the evil powers which now are crumbling in Germany. The bloody record of history reveals again and again how much more readily men will die to defeat a common enemy than they will work together in peace to achieve a constructive common purpose.

WHAT IS A PEOPLE'S PEACE?

Not that the defeat of the German armies will end even the shooting war for the United States, or for China, or for Britain, or for Australia or India. The war against Japan will still remain, demanding, on top of the wearying sacrifices of three or six or eight years of war, as the case may be, still further exhausting toil.

The imagination is incapable of grasping what a war of this length does to civilized men and women. What happens to men who have been separated from their wives three, four and five years, whose children are strangers to them? What of those who went into the services as boys of eighteen, and will come out as wracked and wearied men of twenty-four or twenty-five, to face a world grown utterly strange, to enter a civilian life for which their most formative experiences will have given them no preparation, and in so many cases will have disqualified them? Millions upon millions will be beginning life afresh among former intimates who will have become strangers, in a world so altered, so unstable and insecure that the past will seem to offer little guidance. On their homecoming, the men and women scattered over the war theaters of the world will be far more deeply affected by such changes as these than by changes of frontiers and governmental forms.

In the European area the liquidation of the German armies will not be a signal for an old-style orderly "peace conference" between victors and vanquished, for a gathering of plenipotentiaries from governments possessing unquestioned authority in clearly defined areas. This time the vanquished nations may have no governments at all; they may be in a state of chaos, out of which the victors will have to bring some sort of order. Yet in much recent discussion it seems to be assumed that the end of the war will bring a peace settlement of the old type, worked out by duly recognized representatives of duly recognized governments sitting around a table.

We have had blueprints attempting to outline precisely the structure of the post-war world. International constitutions have been proposed making provision, quite rightly, for such things as representation of the lesser states. Plans have been presented for fulfilling the demand that the peace this time shall be truly a "people's peace," marked by a democracy more complete and more real than any which we have known in the past.

By all means let us keep these goals before us, and let us refuse to condemn them in the name of realism. This word realism is used in two mutually opposed senses: In one, the pursuit of any ideal is held in contempt. In the other, which should be the correct sense, it is considered the business of the idealist to discover the practical

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steps by which his goal can be attained, even though those steps be extremely difficult, sometimes slow, often uncertain.

Much dangerous confusion surrounds this question of making the democracy of the future more complete and real than that of the past, of making this "the Century of the Common Man." We have the habit of speaking of "the will of the people" as though it were easy to know what the will of the people really is. Who are "the people?" Who is the "common man," and which of two or three or twenty political parties truly speaks for him?

On reflection we know this to be a somewhat dishonest convention. We know that even in countries as highly skilled in democratic practice as the United States and France, there is no such thing as a common will of the people. On most questions—particularly on those that matter most—the people are deeply divided, so much so that the most highly skilled observers of popular trends again and again have proved mistaken, as a comparison of preelection prophecies with election results will show quite conclusively.

Certainly we cannot decide who the people are and what they want on any basis of class or doctrine.

To point out this obvious fact, that in so many matters, though not in all, there is no such thing as "the will of the people" is usually regarded as a disparagement of democracy, as the basis of some antidemocratic doctrine or proposal. The truth is, however, that the people are nearly always divided, that different groups among them want different and often mutually exclusive things, and that an equitable adjustment often is extremely difficult to find. Recognition of this truth, far from being something inimical to democracy, is the indispensable foundation upon which it must be built. Just now, at the beginning of our peace-making task, it is the indispensable precondition for the avoidance of bitter inter-Allied conflict and ultimate failure.

Because "the will of the people" is extremely difficult to discern, we are justified in refusing to allow any fuehrer or dictator to claim infallibility of judgment about it, and in demanding that the question be publicly discussed and that governmental decisions be freely criticized. The existence of conflicting interests based on differing wants and desires is precisely the fact which justifies refusal to accept one-party government and insistence on the right to maintain opposition parties.

But the right of opposition means that the minority provisionally must accept a government which it does not approve and does not deem representative of its interests. All of the time some of the people are living under governments they don't like, but only on condition that they may agitate peacefully and organize political opposition with the object of changing them.

All this is the outcome of facing this fact: that in many matters there is no such thing as "the people," having a single will; that it is difficult to know what the general interest really is; half loaves must be accepted, not merely by the minority but by all the people, and that freedom demands not merely a readiness to rebel against established authority but a readiness to compromise with other parties in working toward a fair adjustment of conflicting claims and doctrines.

The Totalitarian Thesis

ONE strange phenomenon of this war is the fact that so many liberals have accepted the totalitarian instead of the democratic thesis, obscuring the fact by persistently calling the totalitarian thesis democratic. Continual use of such terms as "the people," and the assumption that—even in the case of countries so distant as Poland or Greece or Yugoslavia, or any of the other round score of states which form the complexity called Europe – we can know quite easily which party stands for this non-existent entity called "the people," strengthen the tendency to mistake a totalitarian trend for a democratic one.

One of the motives behind this juggling of terms is the very laudable desire to maintain Allied unity and to avoid giving Russia cause for offense or for refusal to cooperate. This reason, insofar as it is the reason, is a mistaken one.

Unity and cooperation with Russia are far more likely to be maintained by (*a*) frank recognition of ideological differences and (*b*) insistence that these real differences shall not be permitted to prevent coopera-

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tion for defense of the common interest, which transcends the ideological differences. That common interest is, of course, the survival and security of the rights which go with such a degree of national independence as is possible in the modern world.

The facts of the war have proved that it is to the interest of the capitalist United States and capitalist Britain to aid in assuring the national survival of Communist Russia. And this is precisely what these two nations are now doing.

Building the foundation for agreement with Russia must begin with bringing home to her the truth that the United States and Britain are perfectly willing to help in the defense of her right to remain Communist, but on condition that she on her side will help to maintain the right of Britain and the United States and others of the Allies to remain non-Communist. On that ground there can be agreement.

But this simple basis of cooperation has been obscured by so many who insist that agreement with Russia will depend upon the West's becoming like her in political and economic structure, or upon her becoming like the West. The confusion, of course, stems from the failure clearly to put first things first.

Instead of keeping this first purpose uppermost, many have insisted that the war must be made the instrument of profound social change, of some new economic and social order, and that somehow the whole world must agree as to the nature of that universal social change. When we recall the deep divisions in any one progressive party within any one nation, it is hopeless to suppose that there can be world-wide agreement on some single social doctrine for the future. If we attempt to put our common power behind some one particular economic or social doctrine, we shall run into something resembling the wars of religion.

Never was application of this principle of democracy, that men must work with others of different convictions, more needed than at this moment. It was this probably which prompted Churchill's remark that the war was becoming less ideological; that is, that we were moving away from the conception of a war for enforcing one social, economic or political doctrine as against another.

Surely the reason for this suggestion should be clear. The greatest military power in the world is now possessed by a dictatorship that has recently in practice, and in the past in theory, rejected many of the principles of political freedom upon which the modern Western world has been founded.

The best foundation for agreement and cooperation with Russia is to face the fact that Russia is a dictatorship; we cannot deal with the consequences of this fact if we pretend that it does not exist. But if we face it squarely, then we can begin to seek that common interest and those grounds for beneficial cooperation which indubitably do exist.

But again a great many liberals refuse to begin at that point. They imply what all honest minds should know to be untrue: that Russia is a democracy in the Western sense, that the right of political opposition exists, and that the press is free. The idea behind these pretenses seems to be that facing the facts would lead to quarreling and disagreement with Russia, and to Allied disunity.

The truth is, of course, the other way about. We can have no unity unless we find the grounds of cooperation between nations who differ profoundly, perhaps, in social and political structure, in moral and social values. The same principle holds good for people within the nation: If to prevent civil war within our frontiers, we had to compose all the differences between the various parties and have them all adopt the same program, then, of course, the only alternatives would be anarchy or the domination of one party. Peace within the nation rests on the general determination of the community as a whole, (*a*) to permit party differences, and (*b*) to prevent the imposition of any party doctrine by violence.

It is some corresponding principle which we must apply to international affairs. If the condition of unity is that we must all be similar, all have the same form and kind of government, the same scale of social and political values, then there never can be unity.

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A Bill of Rights For All Peoples

BY

ULRIC BELL

Basic rights of the peoples of all nations are outlined in a statement of eighteen articles of human rights, here described.

IN the current array of plans to define the essential human rights and freedoms, to incorporate them into the framework of the general security organization and to bring wider acceptance of them by individual nations, we have at least the academic beginning of the real fight against fascism and for a free world.

How much more than academic the efforts of earnest men along this line may become will depend upon much more than leisurely discussions in comfortable chambers. A glance at the political tableaux now being staged in many nations suggests the magnitude of the task ahead.

All too few are those leaders upon whose minds and hearts is imprinted the conviction that fascism, called by any name, is the deadly blight of mankind; that it was the instrument by which, in this war, civilization was all but toppled; that it is evil itself, the enemy of all religion; and that enforcement of future peace can rest only upon profound concern for the welfare and freedom of the individual human being. Until this conviction is expressed in action by purposeful community and group leaders, shouted from every housetop, uttered from every pulpit, made the common tie of people the world over, the great fight for freedom will be in danger. It is heartening that the Crimean Conference of the Chiefs of State of the great powers has reinvoked the Atlantic Charter, giving it new potency and promise.

That we are now in effect setting out to revise and reinforce the Commandments, after some thousands of years, is fodder for the cynical. The "realists" who scorn all Utopias, question every endeavor in the name of progress, will have their day, seeking to shred every proposal that goes beyond stating a generality. They would have scorned the Sermon on the Mount and labeled the Beatitudes visionary.

Yet the contents and sponsorship of the several proposals regarding fundamental human rights can be as full of hope as the first beam of light that came from Bethlehem. They constitute a challenge to every group and individual professing to believe that our side in this war is the side of justice, decency and democracy. They point a beckoning finger in particular to organized religion, the first and most significant victim of fascism, inviting its full and militant leadership in facing the everyday problems of human relationships. They call to the statesmen to make the coming world organization a living, throbbing instrument of the spirit rather than a mere military device.

A statement of eighteen articles of essential human rights is now being distributed through Americans United for World Organization. It was drafted by a committee appointed by the American Law Institute. Its focus is upon the forward step taken by the principal nations in formulating the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a general world organization. One small official act at Dumbarton had particular significance: namely, the provision for an Economic and Social Council to "facilitate solutions of

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international economics, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." This Council is placed under the General Assembly of the proposed agency and therefore, unlike the Security Council, affords to all nations a right to speak out on these questions. This concerted recognition by the major nations of the subject of human rights is bound to have its effect upon the forthcoming San Francisco Conference.

The law committee's document was released following a pronouncement over a large number of American signatures by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. This document points out that Dumbarton foresaw that the violation of human rights anywhere may be a threat to world peace everywhere. It dwells eloquently upon the flagrant flouting of human rights by the nazi and fascist states, calling this an ever-present threat to peace and freedom, as well as a "direct attack on the moral and religious foundations of our society." It urges the United Nations to create in the General World Organization a permanent Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

Rights Enumerated

THE law committee's statement formulated by experts representing the principal culture of the world, is a bill of specifications. It adds to freedom of speech, opinion, religion and assembly, the right of freedom to form associations, freedom from wrongful interference, the right of fair trial, freedom from arbitrary detention and from retroactive laws, the right to own property, the right to an education, the right to work, the right to reasonable conditions of work, the right to adequate food and housing, the right to social security, the right to participate in government and the right to equal protection against discrimination regardless of race, religion, sex, or any other consideration. The duty of the state to protect and act to insure these rights and freedoms is spelled out. The duty of the state to conform to the will of the people in democratic elections is specified. Article Eighteen reads: "In the exercise of his rights everyone is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic state."

Interesting are some of the comments respecting the several articles. For example, regarding freedom of religion, that is provided for in the current or recent constitutions of fifty-two countries; freedom of opinion in only seven but freedom of speech in fifty-five. It is interesting also to note that the right to work clause proposes that the state furnish work for the individual within certain limitations when private enterprise fails to provide that opportunity. The American Bill of Rights is a part of the Statement's background, but it is brought up to date. Thus with many other studies of the fundamental rights already at hand, the tide of discussion is started and will grow within coming months. Let us hope that it will grow so that, like the Commandments, the basic human rights will be so well-defined that they will no longer be called "controversial." Let it come about that a popular radio forum no longer will be able to stage a debate, as it did recently, as to whether fascism is a threat to America. Let the time arrive when citizens who consider themselves ardent believers in democracy, passionate pleaders for peace, will not take on a dead-pan countenance when told that fascism is mankind's deadliest menace.

Let none forget the dead, the maimed, the enslaved, the families uprooted, the whole pattern of horror for which the Nazis conducted schools in which to inculcate the ideal of arrogance, racial superiority, cruelty and world conquest, the opposite of all things taught by what we call Christendom.

Whether it is a selfish lobby in Washington, wanting its own way in spite of the common good and the common need, or a politician in another land buying power by fraternizing with a collaborator, or a picayune office-holder screaming "kike" or "nigger," we must recognize that here there is kinship with fascism, whatever one calls it.

When men and women everywhere face these specific manifestations of the badness that beat the world to its knees, and hate them for what they are, meaning can be imparted to the Atlantic Charter and to world organization for peace.

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A Plan For Peace In The Pacific

BY

SERGE FLIEGERS

WHILE both in the west and in the east the war is moving toward a climax with increasing speed, officials in Washington, London and Paris are paying closer attention to political problems which may crop up after the defeat of Japan.

Some of these officials have before them the confidential reports of their delegates to the Ninth International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which recently finished twelve days of hush-hush discussions at Hot Springs, Virginia.

The conference met behind locked and sound-proofed doors at the luxurious Homestead Hotel—scene of another secret parley, the much-attacked Food Conference. It brought together some hundred and sixty diplomats, military officials, secret-service men and specialists from twelve countries or territories bordering upon or having interests in the Pacific.

A thirteenth country, Russia, was invited, but did not send a delegation.

The result of the conference discussions was some recommendations which are now being studied in many capitals of the world. These included:

1. A ten-point tentative plan for peace with Japan.
2. A "Pacific Charter" assuring equal rights to all peoples of the Far East.
3. An international committee to supervise, investigate and report upon colonial administration in the Pacific area.
4. Acceptance of the United States' bid for complete sovereignty over the Pacific islands mandated to Japan after World War I.

Although as yet none of these suggestions has any official status, it is generally agreed that the caliber of some of the delegates and the intense efforts by Institute officials to keep the conference secret and to exclude the press give more than a purely academic value to the results of the Hot Springs talks.

Wiry little Admiral Thomas Hart (now scheduled for a seat in the Senate), former commander of the U. S. Navy in the Far East, Representative Frances Bolton, and Phillip Jessup of the State Department were among the Americans.

Great Britain sent men like Sir Andrew McFadyean, a director of the North Borneo Company, Sir Paul Butler, who is reputed to be the Joseph Grew of the British Foreign Office, and Captain L. D. Gammans, a conservative member of Parliament who formerly was attached to the Tokyo embassy.

France sent Paul Emile Naggiar, ambassador to China until 1937 and to Russia until the outbreak of the war, and Prof. Pelliot, one of the world's outstanding specialists on the Far East.

Australia's minister to Washington, Sir Frederick Eggleston, attended during the first part of the conference. Then certain disparaging remarks which he was reported to have made about U. S. newspapermen were published, and Sir Frederick had to return to Washington.

Many of the delegates were not members of the I.P.R., but an official explained, "Due to the present circumstances, we have asked some government officials to come as well."

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Discussions were held twice daily at round tables from which public, press and even ordinary members of the I.P.R. were barred.

According to executives of the Homestead Hotel, conference officials had stated that the meeting was "government sponsored," and that therefore they had the right to exclude the press. Newsmen fought their way into the hotel by invoking a Virginia law of civil-war vintage forbidding hostelries to refuse refuge to travelers. The daily "fill-ins" which they received were carefully censored and toned down to avoid revealing any difference of opinion among the delegates.

Disagreement on Japan

REPORTERS therefore were quite surprised to discover that "sharp disagreement" had occurred when the question of peace with Japan was discussed.

A certain group of specialists, including many representatives of Far Eastern countries, favored a very "mild" armistice for the sons of Heaven, whereas another group held out for more severe measures.

After much discussion, the following ten points were worked out by various round tables, and presented in official conference documents, as a basis for peace with Japan:

1. Total and immediate occupation of Japan by troops from all the United Nations, including China and India, to show the Japanese that they had been conquered by a "working alliance" of the West and the East. It was suggested that the presence of Asiatic forces of occupation might also tone down the frantic hatred of the Japanese for "white" races. Occupation, according to the delegates, should be "as short as is compatible with military security." Even military specialists agreed that a lengthy occupation of Japan would serve no useful purpose, but might foster an extremist and anti-Allied Japanese underground.

2. Signing of the armistice by the Emperor himself. This would be a humiliation for him, and would serve to remind the Japanese people that their Emperor and his advisers are responsible, not only for the war, but also for their country's defeat. Specialists expected that this would prevent the formation of a martyr legend about Hirohito, such as the one started in Germany about the "undefeated Hindenburg."

After signing the armistice, delegates suggested, Hirohito should be exiled.

But here the conference split wide open, for one group favored his permanent deportation, whereas another proposed that Hirohito might be returned to his throne after a plebiscite. A joker proposed that "Hirohito should be put in an ice box until he cools off," but not a single mention of capital punishment or imprisonment was made.

3. Capital punishment was proposed for war criminals such as the "zaibatsus"—big businessmen who had thrown in with the military clique—and those officials who had stirred up the Japanese people to a frenzy of hatred and bestiality. But there were no definite suggestions on who should be punished and how.

4. Establishment of a "responsible and democratic" government. A certain skepticism was expressed as to whether it would be possible to find enough democratic elements in Japan to form a regime. It was suggested therefore that a "regency council" of imperial princes or big businessmen might be responsible enough to take over the reins of Japanese government.

5. Complete disarmament of Japan's navy, army and air force. Also partial destruction of her fishing fleets, and elimination of her civilian aviation.

6. Economic disarmament through the dismantling of "key industries" which directly or indirectly might help the Japanese people to prepare for a war of revenge.

7. Extermination of all secret societies, such as the Black Dragon Society.

8. Reeducation of the Japanese people, by new methods in the schools and through free interchange of information through press and radio.

9. Distribution of the Japanese Empire among the nations from whom its present territories were robbed. This should be done according to the Cairo declaration, although delegates cautioned the conference that Russia's seal of approval on

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the proposed changes would be necessary.

10. Payment of reparations by the Japanese. It was pointed out that Japan would not have enough foreign exchange to pay these reparations in cash. Therefore a system of payment in kind was devised, with the largest exports going to those countries which suffered the greatest destruction at Japanese hands.

A Pacific Charter

IN addition to these points, several delegates emphasized the view that "Japan should be given her proper place in the family of Far Eastern nations after this war." Sir Andrew McFadyean, for example, told this correspondent that he would favor exports of cheap Japanese goods to certain Pacific areas, because this would help the Japanese people to get back on their feet again. When asked whether this would not prevent the British people—who will depend heavily on exports after this war—from getting on their own feet, Sir Andrew argued that cheap Japanese goods would only create a greater demand for higher-class British goods in places like Borneo, the Straits Settlements and other territories.

The problem of dependent territories in the Far East was another point of major controversy among conferees.

A French delegate told me that France was so severely criticized, sometimes unjustly, for her colonial policies that he would advise his government not to send a delegation to the next conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Nevertheless the following proposals were made by the conference, and subscribed to by Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other colonial countries:

Firstly, the principle of the international accountability of nations having dependent territories was accepted. It was suggested that a committee be formed, composed of non-partisan colonial experts from all countries, with the right to investigate and advise on grievances of colonial people against their administrators. Complaints would be received directly from the "injured party," and the committee, after due investigation, would have the right to demand a reversal of executive decisions.

Secondly, the conference drew up a "Pacific Charter" to be signed by all United Nations. The charter reads in part:

"The United Nations emphatically reject the theories of 'master races' . . . to rule . . . over other races.

"The United Nations proclaim the fundamental equality of all peoples. They pledge themselves to unceasing efforts to enable all peoples to enjoy the benefits of that equality.

"They further proclaim the principle of universal international accountability for colonial and dependent peoples. . . .

"They favor the adoption of regional councils under the general responsibility of a general assembly as envisaged in the proposals adopted at Dumbarton Oaks."

In the final discussions of security in the Pacific, Admiral Hart introduced the ticklish subject of the mandated islands in the Pacific. "We have spent millions of dollars and thousands of lives reconquering the Japanese-held islands in the Pacific," the admiral is reported to have told the delegates, "and we have no intention of relinquishing their sovereignty to another international authority after this war." This statement, the first concrete evidence of U. S. plans in the Pacific, received general approval from conference members.

On the whole, the Hot Springs discussions served the healthy purpose of bringing out problems which sooner or later the Allies will have to deal with on a highly official plane. The fact that previous agreement or even interchange of opinion has taken place, as it did at Hot Springs, perhaps will save the "Big Three" another trip. Certainly it will save us pain and embarrassment such as was caused by recent mix-ups in Allied policies in the liberated countries of Europe.

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$ What the Germans Owe

By
ATWOOD H. TOWNSEND

There is a debt for human agony and tears, for the blasting of hopes and lives, and the desolation of souls, that the guilty Germans can never pay. There is also another debt they should be made to pay in full—one that can be figured in cold cash, and that is not beyond the means of those who robbed the whole world.

THE Germans have had five years of killing, looting, bombing, burning, raping, machine-gunning, suffocating, starving, poisoning, hanging, torturing, vivisecting, brutally and obscenely abusing two hundred million helpless people, mostly women, children, and old folks. Now the time has come to pay the piper.

But who is to pay the bill: the Germans, or their victims? Who is to make good the damage done? The logic of this issue boils down to a moral syllogism of arithmetical simplicity:

1) The Germans have caused much harm and loss to their neighbors.

2) Either the Germans will repair the damage they have done; or—

3) The victims must suffer the harm and loss themselves.

Powerful voices have been lifted in favor of forgiving and forgetting. The Vatican is diligently campaigning for a "charitable" negotiated peace, as it has been doing since the outbreak of the war. Certain financial interests continually issue propaganda designed to prove that payment of full reparation is financially impossible. Sentimentalists who have known pleasant Germans but have never seen the bestial cruelties of ordinary German soldiers persuade themselves that the "decent" Germans have been the "innocent" tools of a small gang of evil Nazis. Some advance the curious argument that, if we force the Germans to pay for their crimes, we shall be as harsh as they have been!

Finally, German propagandists have repeatedly threatened that, unless they get a kind and generous settlement, the Germans will resent our "cruelty" so much that another war will be inevitable. To this argument there is an easy and obvious answer: *it is not necessary that Germany continue to exist.* If it be true, as the Germans insolently threaten, that there will be another war unless they get what they want, then complete liquidation of Germany becomes an absolute moral necessity.

Possibly 20% of adult Germans today are at heart normal human beings. To those citizens of Germany who showed their opposition to anti-Semitism, Aryan supremacy, and conquest-for-profit *before* the nazi machine began to crack, the United Nations could grant freedom and equality in a democratic world, together with partial or complete exemption from reparation obligations.

The bulk of the German people, perhaps 55% of the total, must be classed as docile followers, or sheep: those who stupidly did as they were told, never daring to think or to act contrary to orders, complacently tucking into their knapsacks such loot as came their way, calmly committing murder when so ordered, but not actively seeking sadistic pleasure or cash profit in

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robbery, devastation, torture, killing. Probably many of these stupid sheep can be educated into human beings, but certainly first they must pay for the harm their boobishness caused by working as long as may be necessary, within Germany or in the devastated areas, until the damage is repaired.

Much more dangerous and evil are the heartless profiteers, or swine, perhaps 15% of the nation: those who believe that Germans have a divine right to grab any profit they lust after, from the first storm-troopers that looted a Jewish store through the heirarchy of precise, pompous civil officials up to the most respectable and unctuous bankers, industrialists, cartel managers, corporation directors—all those who organized and directed mass-murder-for-profit. Appropriate punishment for these exploiters will be confiscation of their blood-stained wealth plus twenty years to life at hard labor.

These Made Hitler

IT must be remembered that the hoggishness of this class of respectable business men has been the driving force behind every German aggression. Hitler did not create these swine; they created Hitler.

Most evil and dangerous of all are the incurable criminals, the pathological sadists who are at least 10% of the German nation: all leaders of the Nazi party; all high officers of army, navy, and Luftwaffe; all S.S. troopers; all Gestapo torturers; all operatives of slaughter-factories like the one near Lublin. The reason why there are millions of such anti-social types in Germany is that, during at least two centuries while civilized peoples were liquidating their criminally insane by sending them to prisons and asylums, Germany was encouraging the increase of such types by glorifying militarism as the highest virtue.

However we may apportion responsibility among various sections of the German people, no smoke screen of casuistry can obscure the fact that the Germans as a whole must accept responsibility for full reparation to the victims for the total of made-in-Germany destruction-for-profit.

As to the actual physical damage for which the Germans are responsible, each of the ravaged nations is drawing up its own bill of particulars, but most of these are not yet available. The United Nations Information Office in New York was able to supply two semi-official documents which provide data for a tentative estimate: a summary of the damage done in Belgium and a calculation by a Soviet economist of the total reparations owed to all the despoiled countries.

News from Belgium reported on November 13, 1943:

> About 300,000 claims for the assessment of war damage suffered in May 1940 have been lodged in Belgium . . . divided as follows:
>
Buildings	396,410,148	francs
Furniture	357,195,533	"
Plant, equipment, material	466,922,803	"
Live-stock and agricultural implements	68,373,784	"
	1,288,902,268	francs

Bill for Blitzkrieg

WITHOUT allowing for claims not yet filed by Belgians who were in concentration camps, or slave laborers in Germany, or refugees abroad, or dead, this report shows $42,000,000 damage to the property of 7,500,000 Belgians in eighteen days of blitzkrieg. No doubt similar damage was done to Holland; somewhat less to Norway, Denmark, Czechoslovakia; a great deal more to France. Such figures become trivial, however, in comparison with the huge expanse of utter desolation through vast areas of Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the Soviet Union. To get some idea of what this amounts to, consider the estimate of Professor Eugene Varga (Soviet economist, formerly at the University of Budapest) as published in *War and the Working Class*, October 24, 1943:

> There can be no doubt that the aggressor countries must make good all the damage caused by them during the war. . . . In World War I the devastation was caused mainly by military operations. But in the war against the Soviet Union the Nazis, each time they retreat, destroy everything of value with German thoroughness. . . . To this must be added the damage caused by the Germans in . . . other countries.
>
> The material damage suffered by France and Belgium during World War I was

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estimated at 14 billion gold rubles. . . . Even if we halve it, and moreover bear in mind that some of the regions devastated in the present war were not as rich as the French districts which suffered in World War I, nevertheless, since the European area devastated during this war is considerably greater (say 30 to 40 times greater), the sum total of material damage must amount at least to 200 billion gold rubles. . . . To this must be added the not inconsiderable damage caused by air raids on England and the Allies' big shipping losses.

Hence Professor Varga estimates 100 billion dollars (200 billion rubles) as the bill now due and payable for actual destruction of actual physical property on the continent, as the measure of the Germans' accomplishment in methodically crippling their neighbors. It seems fair to assume that the Russians, who have suffered perhaps 70% of this damage, are best equipped to measure its amount.

If 100 billions seems an astonishingly large amount, please remember it is less than half of what the Germans have spent during the past ten years on bombs, tanks, and other clever devices for harming their neighbors. Since the physical wealth of the United States, exclusive of land values, has been estimated at 300 billions, we can get some idea of the German achievement by imagining that they had destroyed everything of value belonging to that third of our population which lives west of Chicago. Europe has already lost that much wealth and more, and will miss it frightfully, if the Germans are not required to replace what they destroyed. But the victim nations do not intend to permit this.

For instance, Great Britain also has a bill to present:

Nearly 45,000,000 Britons have faced five years of personal hardship, destruction, and death. . . . 126,103 civilians were killed or severely wounded; 13,700 of these were children. . . . One out of five houses in Britain has been damaged; 14,000 churches or religious buildings; 1,000 schools; and 500 hospitals (*Britain*, September, 1944).

Estimating the damage to homes as equivalent to the total destruction of 1,100,000 British dwellings with furnishings worth an average of $3,500 each, we get 4 billion dollars as the bill for homes destroyed. An even greater amount—say 6 billion—might cover damage to factories, warehouses, railroads, schools, hospitals, public buildings, etc.

Available figures indicate that the value of British merchant ships and cargoes sunk by U-boats or otherwise is about 2 billion, while American and Allied shipping losses add up to another billion. All told then, Britain's account for damage to civilian property must be at least 12 billion dollars. Especially since the appearance of the

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inhuman robot-bomb the British seem determined to exact just and full reparation.

Bill for Looting

NOW we must turn our attention to the huge total of loot taken from a whole continent: Polish hams, Czech machinery, French wine and lingerie, Dutch cheese, Norwegian lumber, Danish butter, Belgian textiles, Yugoslav wheat, Greek olive oil, and every removable thing of value from vast areas of Russia. The U. S. Board of Economic Warfare has issued an estimate:

> By the end of 1941 . . . German plunder of Europe amounted to at least $36,000,000,000 . . . [including] (1) windfall gains from plunder and confiscation; (2) continuing occupation charges upon the conquered people; (3) unpaid clearing balances, arising from the delivery of goods to Germany for which repayment has not been made (*N. Y. Times,* April 28, 1943).

If in two years the Germans got 36 billions of loot, in five years they must have taken close to 90 billions. Furthermore, this estimate does not include three other techniques of robbery: (1) inflationary impoverishment of occupied territories through purchases by individual Germans using paper "occupation money"; (2) personal looting by officers, soldiers, and civilians; (3) diversion of financial assets by means of cartels, corporations, banking arrangements, etc.

An estimate prepared by the British Ministry of Economic Warfare (Reuters, October 26, 1943) arrived at 18 billion dollars as the amount of official German looting on the continent through September 1943, covering only occupation costs and clearing balances, and not including Greece and Russia. The estimated annual increase would bring the total to about 23 billions by July 1944, of which slightly more than half was taken from France. But apparently this British estimate was on the conservative side. Former French Finance Minister Jean Leperq announced on September 16, 1944, that "four years of occupation by the Germans cost France 18 billion dollars." If we take this latter figure as a basis, assume an equal amount taken from the nine smaller countries, and add another 18 billions for loot from Russia, then we get 54 billion dollars as the total of German thievery.

Even this figure may be considerably too small. According to a report in the official *Netherlands News,* June 1, 1944:

> Four years of German occupation have cost the Netherlands a total of 14,100,000,000 guilders ($7,614,000,000) . . . made up of these factors:

	million guilders	million dollars
1. Occupation expenses.....	4,800	2,592
2. "Voluntary contributions" to the war against Russia....	1,300	702
3. Goods and services supplied..	4,000	2,160
4. Abnormal increase of state expenditure	4,000	2,160

Officially acknowledged taking of 7.6 billion dollars from 7.2 million Netherlanders means almost precisely $1,000 per citizen. In four years this would be 2.8 billions from 2.7 Norwegians, or again $1,000 per capita. Assuming the same per capita robbery from Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, half as much from France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, one-third as much per capita from western Russia, we can calculate the total loot account as 122 billion dollars stolen from 205 million people (not counting thefts from North Africa, Italy, Romania, Hungary, Finland, and the Baltic states).

Thus we have four estimates of the total of official loot: 90, 23, 54, and 122 billions. Until more precise information is available, a fair guess might be slightly less than the average of these four figures, or 70 billion dollars. To this must be added casual, personal looting by German officers, soldiers, and civilians, adding perhaps 10 billions to the loot account.

It is known that complicated chains of corporate relationship have entangled German finance and industry with the major enterprises of all Europe. The equities thus transferred to German control could amount to more than 100 billions, but for the purpose of this accounting we shall estimate 20 billion dollars as the minimum amount of such fraudulent seizure of corporate assets.

Adding together official looting, personal looting, and financial looting, we arrive at 100 billion dollars as a tentative measure of the total goods stolen.

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In addition to property damage and looting, a third account must be charged against the Germans: namely, the cost to the United Nations of their war expenditures. A report on the financial page of the *N. Y. Herald Tribune,* April 9, 1944, suggests the size of this account:

> Current war expenditures of the belligerent nations are running at the rate of approximately $200,000,000,000 a year, according to a study announced yesterday by the Tax Institute, Inc. . . . U. S. war costs at an estimated $88,500,000,000 a year top all countries. Germany is spending $36,000,000,000 annually; Russia $25,600,000,000; Great Britain and Empire countries, $25,000,000,000. . . .
>
> The Institute estimates that . . . aggregate expenditures . . . to the end of 1943 were about $631,591,000,000, of which Germany spent $218,000,000,000; United States, $106,078,000,000; Russia, $140,000,000,000; British Commonwealth, $88,634,000,000 (incomplete); occupied countries prior to occupation, $19,027,000,000.

Bringing these figures up to July 1, 1944, would make American war costs 151 billions, but this total must be cut in half first to allow for the expected 75 billion surplus of supplies, factories, etc., and then again cut in two because roughly half of our war expenditures are aimed against Japan, leaving about 38 billions chargeable to Germany thus far. Making similar but smaller allowances for Russia and Britain, we can calculate the expense of resisting the German attack as follows:

Soviet Unions	148	billion dollars
British Commonwealth	90	" "
United States	38	" "
France	10	" "
Other countries	9	" "
Total war costs	295	billion dollars

Either the Germans will pay that bill, or the United Nations must pay it themselves. If the Germans could afford to spend 236 billion dollars during the past few years on guns and other war matériel instead of on butter and betterment for themselves, certainly they can afford to go without butter and beer until they have made good the war costs they forced upon their victims.

There is one more account that cannot be left out of the final bill: 16 million human beings methodically killed. Most of these were relatively young, with an average of perhaps 30 years of useful life ahead of them. In a modern industrialized economy the average worker produces annually about $1,000 worth of goods and services, consuming $800 to maintain himself and dependents, and leaving $200 to be invested by himself, by capitalists, or by the state toward increasing the physical assets of his nation. Multiplying $200 by 30 years gives $6,000 as the average value as a national asset of each individual destroyed by the Germans. In 1940 the U. S. Congress set an insurance value of $10,000 on the lives of American soldiers and sailors. Allowing for our present 59-cent dollar, this comes to about the same figure.

Value of a Life

COUNTING each life as worth $6,000 and multiplying this by the 16 million human victims of German slaughter-for-profit, we estimate 96 billion dollars as the cash value of the human assets systematically destroyed by the Germans. This computation can make no allowance for the symphonies that will not be written, the medical discoveries that will not be made, the useful devices that will not be invented by men and women who have been killed.

Now we are able to add up the total owed by the Germans for actual, measurable harm done to people and property: destruction, 113 billions; loot, 100 billions; war expenditures, 295 billions; cash value of people killed, 96 billions; making a total reparation debt of 604 billion dollars, distributed approximately as follows:

	Soviet Union	British Empire	France	United States	Other Countries
	(in billions of dollars)				
Destruction of ships and property	70	12	10	0.5	20.5
Loot, official and private	40	none	30	none	30
War expenditures	148	90	10	38	9
Value of the dead	54	1.5	4	0.2	36.3
	312	103.5	54	38.7	95.8

The result of this accounting is to make each one of the 65 million Germans personally responsible for nearly $10,000 of deliberate hurt to neighbors. This means that there is on the books a charge for $40,000 worth of deliberate damage against each

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German family, to be paid after this war.

Simply by returning half of the actual machines, works of art, hospital equipment, freight-cars, etc., which they carted off, the Germans can clear off perhaps 8% or 48 billion dollars of their debt within a month or two—provided they play square. If no heirs can be found to receive the valuables taken from millions of dead Jews, these might be sent to subsidize Zionist Palestine.

Destruction of property totaling 113 billions and of manpower worth at least 96 billions means that the Germans have secured a 209 billion advantage over their victims. If the economic and moral equilibrium of Europe is to be restored, this profit of German ferocity must be neutralized.

The most urgent need of the devastated areas is rebuilding of homes, factories, schools. The work can be done by labor battalions recruited, fed, and paid by the German people, thus giving American sentimentalists no chance to shriek in horror about "slave labor."

At least half of the total debt owed, or 302 billion dollars—the substantial equivalent of the war expenditures forced upon the nations attacked by Germany—can be repaid only out of future production of the mines, the farms, the factories of Germany. During this war, out of a normal annual production of something like 25 billion dollars, Germany has been spending more than 15 billions annually on waging war. If the Germans will devote as much of their energy to building peace as they have given to making war, they can pay off this part of their debt in 20 years. If they allot only two-fifths of their annual production to reparations, or 10 billions a year, they can clear this account in 30 years.

Let us not forget the elementary mathematics and the elementary morality upon which this accounting is based:

1) The Germans have caused much harm and loss to their neighbors.

2) Either the Germans will repair the damage they have done, or—

3) The victims must suffer the harm and loss themselves.

Upon our solution of this moral equation will depend whether our children and our children's children are to enjoy the fullness of their lives in peace and justice and prosperity, or whether they must endure the horrible hells which will be World Wars III, IV, V, etc. The penalty will be theirs, but the decision is ours.

Let us close with a prophecy by the great Russian novelist and war-correspondent, Ilya Ehrenbourg:

"When the day of judgment comes and Germany has to disgorge the ten nations, the old ikons, and the other trifles, she will say: "I am no thief. I am a kleptomaniac. I do not require punishment. I need treatment—with sermons, loans, and good American oatmeal."

"Now let's leave world affairs for a moment."

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The Revenge of Norway

By

BJORN STALLARE

The gentle flute player was the first of a gang of nazi criminals who came to Norway. The calm Underground has suffered from them but made them pay.

INCONSPICUOUS news items seeping out of occupied Norway via underground channels frequently hold a key to some of the war's more dramatic stories.

Item: "An Oslo report to the Norwegian Government in London confirms the death of the German Gestapo Agent Rolf Schüttauf in a gunfight with Norwegian patriots near Oslo."

That was the report.

But I know this man. He wanted an appointment with me in Oslo last year, but I didn't want to see him. That's why I'm here!

First I must write of another German. It was in the early thirties, when economic depression gripped most of the world, that a German musician arrived in the Norwegian capital, summoned by the Oslo Symphony Orchestra. He was a flutist—one of Germany's finest. Offered a chair with the Oslo Philharmonic Society, he accepted.

What a flute player he was! He excelled in Haydn, in Mozart, but whatever he played, his listeners were ecstatic. Fellow musicians, artists, the critics, intellectuals of every field became his devotees and friends. An immediate success, he found an apartment and a wife, then settled down to raise a family. Solemn, tender, sad-eyed, retiring, he seemed fashioned of too fragile stuff to cope with a world of discord. His flute and his talent were his only weapons, but a man whom no one feared needed no others. Vividly I recall his tenderness, how this gentleman lived in and talked of his dream world of Mozart and song. Here was the true German artist.

On the evening of April 8, 1940, in the privacy of his home, the melancholy artist shed his mask. The sad eyes melted into two

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glowing pools of hate. The frame they dominated assumed a Prussian bearing. The metamorphosis was complete. Orders had come through from Berlin!

From a remote recess of his wardrobe he produced and examined his Gestapo uniform. Through that night he worked over his files and dossiers on Norway and Norwegians, records of the innocent conversations of his Oslo benefactors, his friends, his acquaintances. Soon after dawn he arose from the stacks of documents, in response to a sound. It was the roar of airplane motors—German airplanes—and his signal. He donned the uniform. The flutist, Rolf Schüttauf, left his apartment for a rendezvous with his chief—Heinrich Himmler!

Brilliant Technique

WHAT a combination—Mozart and Himmler! I shall never forget the absorbed expression on Schüttauf's face, in those days before the invasion, as he—a Gestapo spy—played with the Oslo orchestra. But one rarely remarks such qualities—the attentive ear, the dreamily roving eyes—in a musician. Somehow they seemed to suit him. Certainly this was convenient for Schüttauf. Before the war Norwegians, like other civilized people, were not looking in orchestra pits, or under their beds, for Gestapo spies.

It was indeed convenient for Schüttauf. He could attend parties, smile his ingratiating smile, stroll in the gardens of the Royal Palace, all the while unsuspected and undisturbed as he memorized the least wisp of conversation and fitted it into his mind alongside the strains of Mozart and Haydn.

He had been very thorough. Arrests among Norwegian intellectuals were commonplace in the days following invasion, but it was the rare victim who failed to find Schüttauf among his accusers. At his fingertips were chapter and verse on the "misdeeds" of every prominent patriot. He knew each one's views on political questions; he knew whether or not a prominent Norwegian was likely to be associated with the Resistance movement. He knew each one's home, his wife, his children, what he read, what he preferred for dinner. Without scruple Schüttauf used this knowledge.

As a Gestapo interrogator he introduced a new and brilliant technique. The victim was ordered to lie down on his back on the floor. Often he was an old friend, one whose children once greeted Schüttauf with a hug when he came to join them in a meal. Now the artist seated himself on his friend's stomach and started the questioning. When the proper answer was not forthcoming, Schüttauf bounced up and down, sometimes varying the technique by standing up and jumping, until neither the stomach nor the victim could take more.

But now he is dead.

Even after his treachery was exposed, he returned to play at occasional concerts. Once he opened the sheaf of music on his stand to find a series of irreverent notes—the imprint of a dead man's knuckles. It was a warning from the Norwegian Underground.

Democratic tradition, nurtured and kept alive in Norway by the Underground, was a rock on which the nazi spirit broke. It proved far too strong for the Nazis because it goes back a thousand years to the days of the Vikings.

People in other countries may think of the Vikings merely as men who raided foreign shores. We Norwegians think of them primarily as men who took democracy to the Western countries where they settled, who were among the first to establish democracy in Europe. Their communities were governed by means of the *ting* or "assembly of free men," in which every citizen had a right to speak up for what he believed. The present-day Norwegian Parliament is still called the *Storting,* or "big assembly," thus continuing the Viking tradition.

The fight of the Norwegian people against the Nazis has passed through three definite stages up to the present time. The character of resistance has been fixed partly by the objectives of the nazi occupying forces, and partly by objectives of the Norwegians themselves in their efforts to cooperate with all the Allied forces.

In the early days of occupation the conquerors had grandiose plans for the nazification of everything in Norway, at a rapid pace. The job looked simple to them. They would issue instructions to Norwegian teachers and school principals to begin

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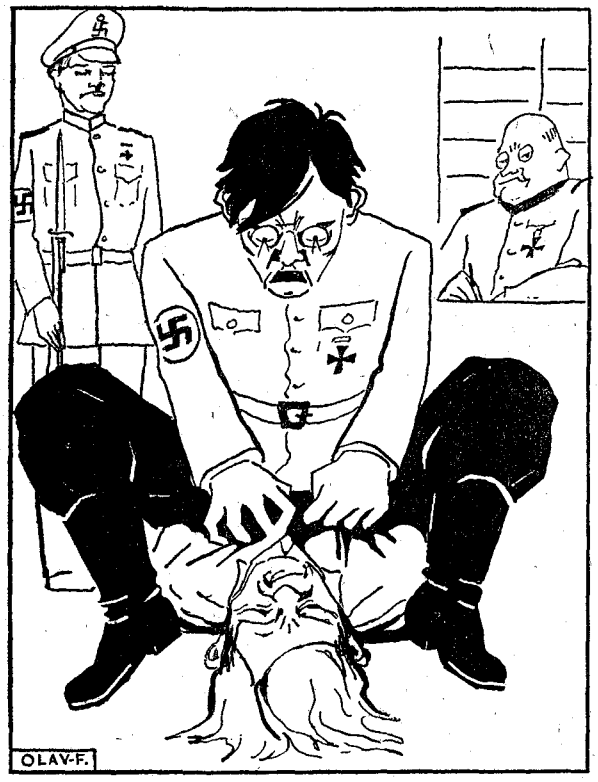

inculcating Hitlerism in the minds of Norway's children. Being good administrators, as they thought, they had arranged elaborate new school curricula and were ready to metamorphose teaching methods. They planned also to take over the trade unions, expelling their Norwegian patriot leaders and substituting well-chosen collaborationists or imported leaders from Germany.

The cooperative movement, which was strong in Norway, was scheduled to be molded to the nazi will, and so were the farm unions, the fishermen's unions and all the professions and trades. The motto for all Norwegians from the kindergarten child to the housewife, doctor or preacher was to be, "Now we are going to fight for the new order."

To meet this deliberate spiritual attack on democratic traditions and institutions, the fight in Norway had to be organized on a spiritual basis. This was the first great stage of the resistance of the Underground.

One of the first acts of the Underground units in every community was to organize an intelligence service, the members of which had as their assignment to learn in advance the measures the Nazis proposed and the proclamations they would issue affecting schools, labor unions and other fields. Such proclamations were then published in widely distributed Underground newspapers, which told not only what the next nazi move would be, but what plan of unified action should be followed to checkmate it.

Thus all the schoolteachers in Norway were able to protest in unison the introduction of nazi indoctrination, and to refuse to carry out the new curricula. In numbers there is strength. What one teacher or group could not accomplish, many teachers could make a reality. The same held true in matters affecting labor unions, cooperatives, farmers' organizations, fishermen's organizations and a host of others.

Naturally Norwegian resistance brought the usual nazi reaction of terrorism. In every city neighborhood, town and village people were rounded up by the hundreds and subjected to brutal questioning. Such terrorism had two purposes: first, to enable the Nazis to find the Underground representatives they wanted to locate and kill; second, to scare the rest of the people so that they would be less ready to cooperate with the Underground.

The very name of the Gestapo holds terror for peoples in many lands where its workings have never been experienced. But the people of Norway have learned what the Gestapo really is. After five years of pitting their wits against these supposedly high-powered nazi sleuths, the Norwegians know that Gestapo agents are not shrewd, that their methods are based wholly upon force. There is no Sherlock Holmes in the Gestapo, although there are lots of Himmlers. The Norwegians have proved again something that the human race has been proving to itself ever since cave-man days, namely that brains are a good match for brawn. They have been able to combat the Gestapo most successfully.

The second phase of Norwegian resistance began in 1943. By that time it was firmly believed by all Norway that the war would end without too long delay. The Underground now took on a new assignment. There was need for much closer contacts with the Norwegian Government in London, in order that in time

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all the postwar administrative problems might be discussed. Because of the long and thoroughly democratic conferences which have ensued between the London Government and the Underground, Norway today is prepared to pass into the era of peace without the unrest which is developing in some of the liberated regions of Europe.

In its early stage the Underground consisted of many units connected only loosely if at all. In the second stage a central board of Underground leaders was set up to collaborate with the Government in London, and to coordinate the activities of the many groups which had been working independently, although of course their activities had been correlated by the Underground press.

D-Day in Norway

THE third phase of Norwegian resistance began on D-Day. At that time the Norwegian Underground received instructions from London to the effect that it was now a part of the total effort on the continent. While the Allies were fighting in Europe the role of the Norwegian Underground would be to see that the German armies were not reinforced from the ranks of the 200,000 nazi soldiers in Norway.

D-Day was a day of sunshine in Norway in the literal sense of the word. Norway is the land of the midnight sun; in June and throughout most of July the time of darkness is very brief. Sabotage therefore had to wait for the month of August, when the nights would be longer.

Then it began in earnest. From the latter part of August until New Year's Eve, a hundred large-scale sabotage operations were successfully carried out. Their purpose was to prevent the flight of German troops and also of the 100,000 German civilians, among whom were many expert engineers who had been sent into Norway to study means of using the waterfalls as power for nazi war production.

Stores of gasoline were blasted. Quantities of charcoal, which the Germans used as a substitute auto fuel, were set on fire. Auto-repair factories were destroyed. Trains were wrecked. Supply depots for the air force were wiped out. Last but not least, German shipping in Norwegian harbors was sunk; in one harbor alone 26,000 tons of shipping were blasted out of existence.

Since the destruction of the Tirpitz, the British home fleet and air force, aided by the Norwegian navy and air force, have taken up their watch all around the coast, and are waging relentless war against nazi shipping. German air power is so limited today that it can give little support to this supply line of ships, which must continually run the gauntlet.

The Norwegian Underground does not pretend to a distinctive role after the war is over; it does not expect to continue as a political body. It regards itself uniquely as a democratic tool assigned to do a wartime job in full cooperation with the elected government.

Because of the efforts of the Underground, democracy in Norway has been able to persist and to say to the Nazis, "There is not enough brute force in the world to combat the will of free men who have been living as such for thousands of years in this country."

The Golden Mean

Across the street from the New York Public Library, at 11 West 42nd Street, is the office of Polpress, an information bureau representing the Lublin Provisional Government of Poland, which is recognized by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. At the other end of the block, at 55 West 42nd Street, is the office of Poland Fights, an information bureau representing the London Polish Government-in-Exile, which is recognized by Great Britain, France, and the United States.

To a mathematical mind it might seem logical to look for the true answer to the Polish question halfway between, at 33 West 42nd, but there the seeker of the middle way would find—Woolworth's.

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Rat Extermination. —*Pravda, Moscow.*

The Master's voice . . . seems to have cracked.

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The Cornering of the BEAST

British and Russian cartoonists catch the highlights as the Allies close in for the kill.

(Cartoons from London Express and Pravda, Moscow.)

"Looks as if there won't be any of those Nazis left!"

"No, you're wrong, this is not Goebbels."

The remains of the German fleet.

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Free Speech . . . *on the* Silver Screen

By DARRYL F. ZANUCK

Nazi poison on celluloid has affected millions of young European minds; after the war the source must be controlled, the antidote provided through the mature offerings of the free and freedom-loving motion-picture industry of the democracies.

A UNIQUE problem faces the American motion picture industry today—a problem which has a direct bearing on the kind of world we are to have in the future.

Simply put, it is this: The movies, under the compulsion of war, have grown astoundingly in scope and stature. Almost overnight, as it were, they have become of major, if not paramount, importance in shaping men's thought and action. Yet only relatively few outside the industry recognize this. In that sense, the movies have outrun their public and left behind too many of those entrusted with the task of charting our postwar destinies.

Lest this be misunderstood, let me say that I am not trying to pick a quarrel or even to be critical. I am simply calling attention to a development which must be taken fully into account in order to help insure mankind against future chaos. The failure to give proper evaluation to the screen as a constructive force is easily understandable. Its development has been so rapid that there has hardly been enough time to gauge all the implications.

In all the current public discussions about the dictator nations and their control and reeducation after the war little or nothing has been said about motion pictures. The complete dismantlement of their industrial facilities has been suggested. The abolition of their arms and munitions plants is taken for granted. The elimination of their air fleets, including commercial planes, has been urged. The rigid control of their press, their radio and their other means of communication is demanded. But almost nothing has been mentioned concerning the fate of their film industries.

This is a grave and dangerous oversight, both by the public, which has entered into these discussions, and by the planners of a better postwar world. This neglect obviously points to a lack of understanding of the immense and still unplumbed possibilities of the screen in molding and guiding public opinion. It may leave to the vagaries of chance a weapon which can be used for incalculable good or harm in shaping the future.

It has been used for evil in the dictator countries and used with great cunning and efficiency. The record is there, plain for all to read. It is a record of the debauchery of a great art and educational medium for sinister purposes—a black record that should be highly instructive to the planners of the future.

The dictators were quick to seize control of the motion picture facilities in the coun-

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tries under their sway. They reached out for them almost as soon as they came into power. The motion picture industries of Germany and Italy felt the heavy hand of the dictators even before the press. The screen was used to pave the way for aggression by conditioning the mind of the masses to a belief in the absurd theories of the master race, the glory of war and its moral and material benefits.

Later the screen became an outright propaganda medium and, finally, part and parcel of the war machine, doing the master's bidding without thought or question. It descended to depths of falsification and distortion almost beyond belief. Terror films, exulting in the barbarous cruelties inflicted on helpless peoples and cities, made their appearance—for example, "The Destruction of Warsaw" and "The Conquest of Crete." Propaganda films were exported under pressure to the rest of the world still at peace.

Nazi Pictures Do Lie

WEEK after week, more than 100 million people in conquered lands were served a steady diet of poison on celluloid. Let me cite one example of the falsifications to which the nazi film propaganda descended: A nazi officer in occupied Paris is shown on the screen addressing a large group of rebellious Frenchmen. He asks those in the group desiring additional food coupons to raise their right hands. Naturally, the response is automatic. But when this newsreel was distributed by the Nazis it was titled "French citizens welcome us to Paris with upraised hands in the Nazi salute."

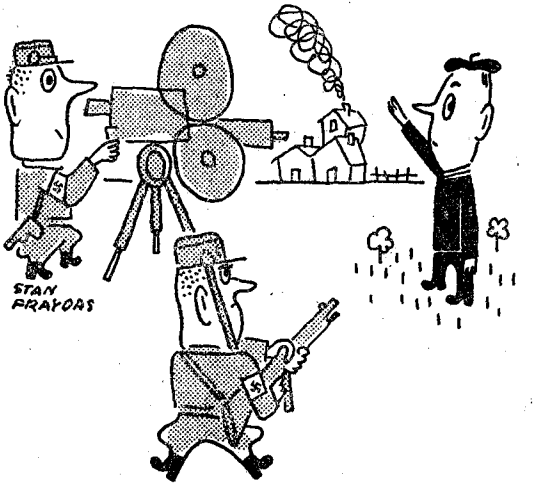
American films quickly came under the ban because they showed a more decent way of life. The dictators were properly fearful of the effect of such films on the populations which they had conquered. Arbitrary restrictions and flagrant censorship became the order of the day in nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Again the ambitious conquerors of the world took action against foreign films first, before they invoked similar measures against newspapers and periodicals coming from the outside world. By so doing, they once more gave thunderous recognition to the role of the film in influencing thought.

That is one reason why motion pictures must receive serious consideration in the councils of the United Nations. It is also a very good reason for dealing realistically with the nazi film industry. On the basis of their record you can no more trust the nazi film makers to stick to entertainment than you can trust the nazi munitions makers to manufacture plowshares. Unless the nazi film industry is absorbed or extirpated, we may look forward to a postwar series of apparently innocuous little comedies dedicated to the theory that while Hitler may have lost the war, Germany and the German people were never actually defeated and that *Der Tag* is yet to come.

It is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between the nazi munitions industry, which manufactures weapons of war, and the nazi film industry, which manufactures weapons of war propaganda. They must be treated in exactly the same manner.

To pursue any other course, in the light of the vast progress made by the film medium, would be rank folly. Given half an opportunity, nazi film capital might seek sanctuary in some friendly land, such as Spain or Argentina, and there set up shop again. Or it might infiltrate into neighboring countries, such as Sweden, and there gradually take over film control by dint of superior skill, knowledge or financial pressure.

Only by assuming absolute control can the United Nations hope to avoid such disturbing contingencies. Some sort of international control board, representing all the United Nations, must be set up. Under its authority, the various film companies of



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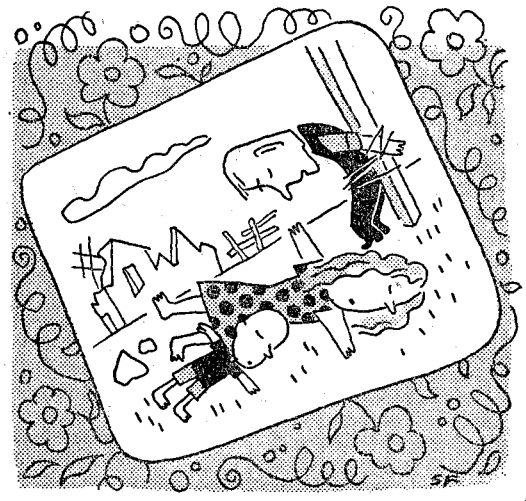

England, Russia, France and the United States could readily establish branch studios in Germany or the satellite nations. They could use production facilities of their own importation in addition to the studios, distribution branches and theaters at hand. They would make the pictures for the European countries which had come to depend on the Nazis for their film fare. These films naturally would be supplemented by imported productions at the discretion of the international control board. The companies operating in Germany would be subjected automatically to the restrictions of their own governments and the limitations set up by the international group.

Such a plan meets most of the foreseeable contingencies. Further, it would tend to eliminate the possibility of a film Underground since the best of the German film artists and technicians, once they proved they could be trusted, would be absorbed by the outside companies and their activities would thus come under constant and proper supervision.

The rightful owners of the plants and physical properties would receive adequate compensation. Later their plants and facilities might be returned to them if the United Nations decided such a course to be safe.

Visual Education

To contribute their full share in reeducating a turbulent world to enduring peace, motion pictures must have a relatively free hand. First, they must be free from unnecessary government interference. Much has been said about freedom of the press, freedom of the air and freedom of science but very little about freedom of the screen. A free screen is today demonstrably as important to the world as a free press.

The visual image remains longer in the mind than the printed word. Motion pictures combine, on their simplest level, the spoken word and the visual image. They now have enormous world audiences and these probably will be far greater after the war. The war has made millions of new movie fans among the fighting men scattered over the world who have come to regard movies as almost their sole form of diversion. It has also created new audiences for films in the remote, far-off places on the globe, among the isolated and allegedly backward peoples. They have seen many of the pictures sent to the fighting men stationed temporarily among them and they are now avid for more. By means of the new, revolutionary educational techniques, these people can now be brought to take their proper place in the world.

The possibilities are almost limitless. It is vital that this great medium of enlightenment, education and entertainment be kept free. It should receive the same privileges and protection accorded the press and be permitted to function with the same freedom here and abroad. The necessary limitations should be held to the absolute minimum. Unless the screen is free, within the limits of decency and good taste, it may easily become an object of partisan strife and political reprisal. Then it would be robbed of its chance and real value in the job of reconstructing a chaotic world.

Let me be blunt. The fear of political reprisal and persecution has been a millstone about the neck of the industry for many years. It has prevented free expression on the screen and retarded its development. The loss has not been merely our own. It has been the nation's and the world's. Few of us insiders can forget that shortly before Pearl Harbor the entire motion picture industry was called on the carpet in Washington by a Senate committee dominated by isolationists and asked to render an account of its activities. We were pilloried with the accusation that we were allegedly making anti-nazi films which might be offensive to Germany.

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The press of the nation, the publishers of our books and magazines, fortunately were not compelled to undergo this same inquisition. They have been writing about the nazi peril to civilization for many years. It was a service for which the nation can be forever grateful but it never could have been rendered so effectively if the press had been exposed to the same fears of retaliation as the films were.

Let Movies Sell Peace

VERY few outside our industry are fully aware of the new vistas that have opened for motion pictures. Too many are still prone to regard the movies as escapist froth, without much importance. They do not realize how profoundly American movies have already influenced their own lives and the lives of other peoples of the world. The movies have played an important role in raising the standards of American life. They have also raised the standards, by much or little, in other parts of the globe. They have sold bathtubs, telephones, automobiles and sewing machines. They have sold styles and skyscrapers. They have also sold the American way of life; its tolerance, understanding and good-will. It does not seem to me that even a fanatical Nazi could view our films for any length of time without being seriously shaken in his beliefs and, if not wholly converted, at least badly "contaminated."

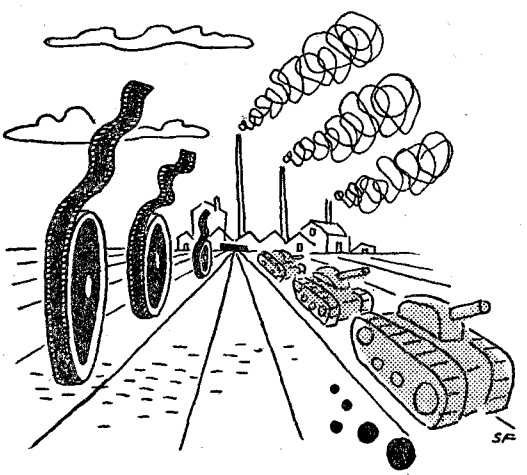
How many of you know about the startling progress made in the use of film for educational purposes? In the armed services visual education through training films has not only cut classroom time enormously but the trainees have learned their subjects much better. Such films have also entered academic fields previously considered beyond the province of the screen. They have been used to teach new and difficult surgeries, to explain difficult problems of science and to make plain complex mathematical equations. They have also been very effective instruments of instruction in the fields of camouflage and sanitation.

All this points to what can be done in the reeducation of Germany and Japan for peace. It is the solid foundation on which we can build. The actual task will have to be approached from two directions. The people of Germany and Japan have undoubtedly assimilated enough propaganda to make them believe that what they fought for was right. They will have to be shown otherwise. They should be compelled to view the incredible brutalities, the slaughter, the burnings and tortures which their armies and leaders indulged in to punish their hapless victims in the countries they overran. Film material of this kind is readily available, and should prove a salutary means of bringing many in Germany and Japan to their senses.

But this counter-propaganda alone would not be sufficient. By the time the war is over certainly the average German and Japanese will have had his fill of propaganda. For years they have been on a diet of falsehood and half truth. But unconditional surrender will explode the myths in their faces.

The process of reeducation here will have to take more subtle form. It will have to take the shape of entertainment. The defeated, exhausted people will undoubtedly be yearning for escape and entertainment. American films, once immensely popular in those countries, can supply that want. These films will have the kind they understand and like. But in them we can make our point and make it so often that its truth is finally grasped. We can do it until these people, all unwittingly, come to have an appreciation of freedom and an understanding of democracy and its workings.

Primarily it is a job of teaming entertainment and enlightenment. The techniques are at hand. We know how to use them. The industry can be relied on to use them properly and well.



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Reconversion Must Wait—

U. S. War Machine Runs in High Gear

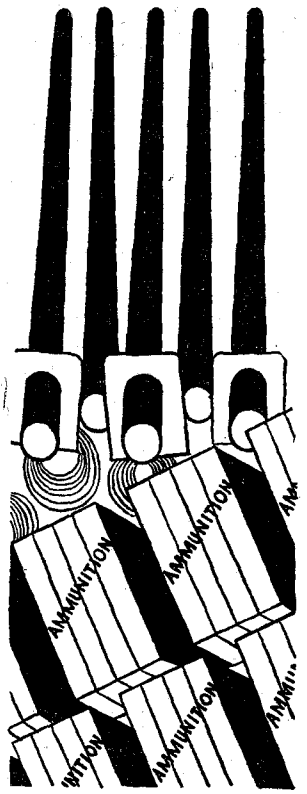
BY

J. A. KRUG

IN 1941, the United States produced over $8,000,000,000 worth of tanks, planes, ships, guns, ammunition and campaign equipment. At the same time manufacturers of civilian goods were racing to fill the orders of a market thronged with eager buyers. Then came the shock of Pearl Harbor. It wasn't, however, until the President set the production goals for 1942 that management and labor realized what was expected of them. The Office of Production Management, which was designed to direct and control a defense production program, was abolished, and on January 16, 1942, the War Production Board was established with authority to assure maximum production and procurement for the war.

In 1942 the United States transformed itself from the world's greatest producer of peacetime goods to a producer of machines and equipment of war. This was done with the greatest speed possible. There was no time to plan a nicely balanced program. Contracts were let to those who could begin producing soonest with the least addition of new tools. The WPB issued an order in February to cease production of automobiles, so that this great industry, which had produced 5,000,000 cars and trucks in a year, could set its manpower and inventive genius to work tooling up for tanks, planes, guns and other weapons. In quick succession came limitation orders to insure that steel, copper, aluminum and a score of other materials went into war goods.

Conservation of existing facilities got under way in 1942, along with the biggest construction program in the history of the United States. Manufacturers of roller coasters, hair curlers and toy trains converted to the production of loading hooks and bomber-repair platforms, to making bomb fuses and clamps for airplane assemblies. Watch manufacturers converted to the highly technical job of producing fire-control equipment, typewriter manufacturers to the production of machine guns. At the same time new air fields, cantonments, barracks, ammunition plants, synthetic-rubber plants and housing for war workers were going up throughout the land. The total government-financed war construction program, machinery and equipment, in 1942 amounted to $12,727,000,000.



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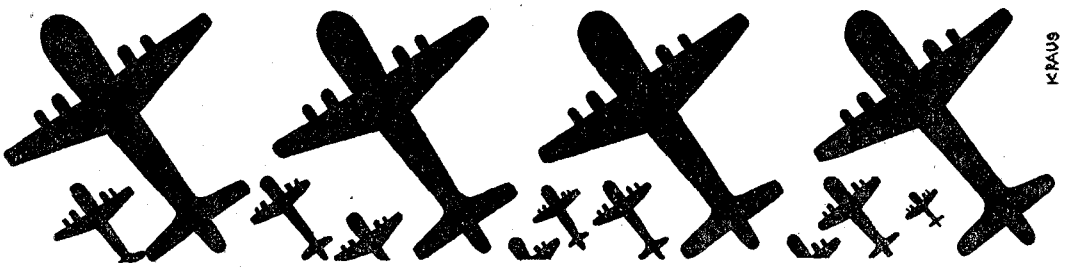

Munitions production responded to this all-out war program. By December of 1942 munitions production was three times that of January. By July, however, production had already climbed to twice the output achieved in January. The slowing up of the production curve was to be attributed partly to shortages of materials and partly to the problems of scheduling production, problems which these shortages increased. More copper, steel and aluminum were being produced than ever before, but still not enough to satisfy the increasing demand.

As a result of the scarcity of materials, conservation measures, already developed, were intensified. The American people were asked to alleviate the situation by getting back into production millions of tons of scrap metal accumulated in junk piles, cellars, attics, etc. These conservation measures helped, but the troubles of the ailing production program had to be attacked at their roots.

The program had grown so fast that it was out of balance. Now that the first big job had been done, to get American industry into production for war, the War Production Board had a new problem to attack: to achieve maximum sustained production by getting every plant on an approved schedule within a precisely balanced overall program.

Materials and Timing

THE preference rating system, designed to insure that urgent production got materials ahead of less urgent, failed to iron out the difficulties because there were more "urgent" calls than there was material. To replace the preference rating system, the Production Requirements Plan was set up to allocate materials on the basis of the quarterly needs of the various manufacturers. This plan proved to have its drawbacks too, one of them being that the plan did not make provisions for orderly production of components; under this plan some components were manufactured at the expense of others.

Early in November, 1942, the Controlled Materials Plan was announced. Under this plan the War Production Board divides the available steel, copper, and aluminum among the government agencies responsible for filling the essential military and civilian needs of the United States and the other United Nations. Each claimant agency in turn cuts its program to fit its share of materials, and divides the steel, copper and aluminum allotted to it among its manufacturers. This plan was introduced gradually, until by July 1, 1943, it was the only system in effect.

By the end of the eighteen-month period of the defense program which began July 1, 1940, and ended December, 1941, the United States had turned out 23,229 airplanes, 4,258 tanks, 126,000 machine guns, 371,000 rifles and carbines. In the year 1942, when the United States was really concentrating on the production of war equipment, 47,860 planes were produced, 23,883 tanks, 667,000 machine guns, 1,556,000 rifles and carbines. The tonnage of Navy vessels delivered increased from 269,000 displacement tons delivered in the eighteen-month defense period to 868,000 tons delivered in 1942. During this same time the deadweight tonnage of merchant vessels delivered increased from 1,552,000 tons to 8,027,000 tons.

War expenditures by the United States Government increased from an average of $67,000,000 per day in November of 1941 to an average of $235,600,000 in December of 1942.

In 1943, the United States war machine,

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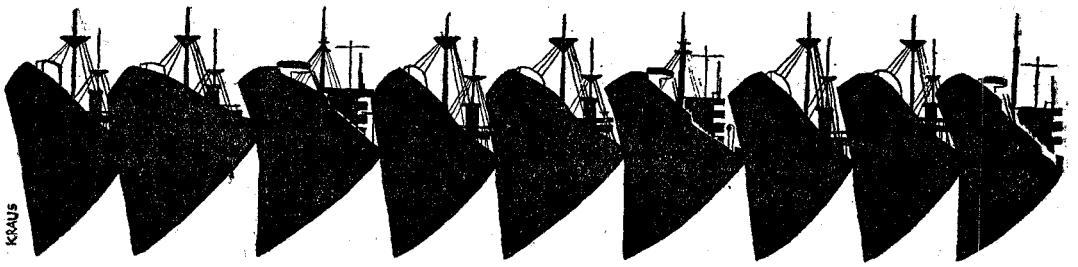

quickly assembled and brought into quantity production during the year following Pearl Harbor, was geared with a higher degree of precision and stepped up almost to peak production.

Scheduling production of hard-to-get parts, or "critical components," as they are commonly called, was WPB's biggest production job in 1943. It was accomplished by means of procedures established in a General Scheduling Order issued in February. The order required manufacturers to indicate realistic delivery dates for parts in insufficient supply, and made sure that the plants best able to produce particular types of critical parts would produce those parts and leave production of other types to other plants.

Overall scheduling of production, of major importance from the first, became more necessary than ever in 1943. The slack in the industrial machine available in 1942 and 1941 had pretty well been taken up by 1943. Manpower was becoming particularly short. It was a fairly simple matter at first to transfer resources from non-essential to essential uses, but in 1943 the choice was between essential and more essential uses.

Conservation Measures

THE importance of enlarging and replenishing the country's stockpiles through conservation was a continuing problem in 1943. In September the War Production Board found it necessary to launch a nationwide program to induce every industrial and commercial plant, as well as every private citizen in the United States, to conserve not only coal, oil, and gas, but also electricity, water, and communications and transportation facilities. As the materials, facilities, and manpower needed for production of shipping containers became increasingly scarce during the year, re-use of existing containers developed into a "must." Metal was so urgently needed for war purposes that none could be used for containers unless no other material would serve. A campaign for the re-use of containers was launched in October. Another campaign was initiated to alleviate the serious shortage of good-quality rope and cordage. Conservation of cutting tools received new impetus from the growing shortage of labor for making replacement tools.

By means of simplification—that is, the elimination of non-essentials from an item or line of items—and standardization—that is, the restriction of production to certain specified types of items in a given line—critical materials as well as countless man-hours have been saved. For instance, new furniture patterns were prohibited, luggage production was limited to seven standard types, and patterns in various other items such as silver-plated flatware, tools and hardware, blankets, knitwear, etc., also were restricted.

Equipment for the armed forces has been simplified and standardized wherever possible, not only to save materials, labor and facilities but also to facilitate replacement of parts. For example, early in the year the number of basic air-cooled engine models was reduced by 50 per cent, and each basic model produced by a given manufacturer was made to take a single type of carburetor, muffler, air cleaner, spark plug, and other parts.

Salvage of critical materials continued throughout 1943. Since the military and industrial uses of paper had skyrocketed and manpower shortages in the woods had kept down the production of wood pulp for containers, waste paper became a material of crucial importance. Salvage of iron and steel scrap was given a new boost in order

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to maintain a safe supply of scrap for a munitions production program almost twice as large as that of 1942. Collection of household fats continued, as well as the collection of tin cans.

In 1943, for the first time since the beginning of the war, the problem of providing civilians with the goods they needed to maintain their health and working efficiency approached an acute stage with respect to certain categories of items. Until the middle of 1942, inventories were sufficiently large, and the war program left enough resources free, to supply aggregate civilian demands at an expanding volume. At the same time, the increased individual incomes obtained from war production and related activities insured that these expanding demands would result in actual purchases.

To the Office of Civilian Requirements of the War Production Board fell the task of maintaining production and distribution of all essential civilian goods insofar as was consistent with the demands upon materials, facilities and manpower for war production. To correct this situation, this office directed manufacturers or distributors of urgently needed items of farm equipment, such as shovels, forks and the like, to set aside specified quantities of these products for farmers, who had to have the necessary equipment to meet the high food-production goals.

New Highs

PRODUCTION climbed to new highs in 1943. A total of 85,930 planes of all types rolled off the assembly lines—almost double the number produced in 1942. Numbers do not tell the whole story. Not only were more planes produced, but also heavier planes. The average airframe weight per plane increased from 5,779 pounds per plane in 1942 to 7,450 pounds per plane in 1943. More than 29,000 bombers were produced in 1943, compared to 12,600 in 1942. The Maritime Commission delivered 19,000,000 deadweight tons of merchant and military types of vessels, compared to 8,027,000 delivered in 1942. The tonnage of naval vessels delivered, 2,610,000 displacement tons, was three times the tonnage delivered in 1942. Almost 20,000,000,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition were completed in 1943, and 830,000 machine guns, 5,691,000 rifles and carbines.

In 1944 the munitions program matured. The monthly value of production reached its peak at the end of 1943. In 1944 the volume of production had leveled off to an average per month of about $5,350,000,000, a rate slightly below the 1943 peak. Although 1944 was not a year of new highs in monthly output as was true in the preceding years of United States production for war, the total output for the year reached close to $64,000,000,000 compared to $56,900,000,000 of munitions produced in 1943.

More than any previous year, 1944 was one of invasion by land, sea, and air. The grand strategy for the many fronts upon which the United Nations have been advancing required adequate preparation for the landing of water-borne troops on many shores. Therefore, from the beginning of 1944 up until May, the production of landing craft was the number-one munitions program. Simultaneously, our aircraft program called for bigger and heavier planes to reach out to the Japanese strongholds and to disrupt the industrial centers of Germany. Production of bombers of all types, with special emphasis on long-range bombers, and a mounting demand for the big transport planes increased the airframe weight of 1944 production about 50 per cent above that of 1943, even though the number of planes produced declined each month from the all-time high of more than 9,000 planes produced in March.

In order to transport the men and materials to the beachheads, the Navy called upon the Maritime Commission to produce troop transports, transport-attack and cargo-attack ships. The last two types are especially designed for assault operations and the Navy fits them with special equipment to speed unloading. A faster cargo ship, the Victory ship, came into production in 1944, to take the place of the Liberty ship. Amphibious warfare requires increased production of amphibious craft, so that tracked landing vessels of all types, such as Alligators, Water Buffaloes and Ducks, were called for increasingly.

At the beginning of 1944 the whole production effort was concentrated on preparations for planned invasions. When these

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invasions became reality, the adequacy of our preparations on the production front underwent the final test.

As a result of battle experience in the Italian campaign, requirements for heavy-artillery ammunition and spare cannon went up. With the opening of new fronts in France this demand continued and increased. Heavy-heavy trucks and tires for them were called for in increasing numbers. As the number of men engaged on the European front increased and as the fronts were further extended, the need for equipment for communication between the numerous military units naturally increased. Thus production of dry-cell batteries for the walkie-talkie was stepped up. In addition, the need for tactical field wire exceeded current production, and schedules had to be boosted.

Tanks mounting bigger guns were put into production as a result of invasion experience. Shelter requirements for the armies in Europe increased sharply, and cotton duck for tents became critical, too. The increasing tempo of the war in all theaters of operation, especially in the Pacific, brought with it upward revisions of Naval ordnance requirements. One sharp increase occurred in naval high-capacity ammunition for use against shore fortifications and for softening up beach-heads.

To carry on the war in 1945, the United States is equipped with a fleet (exclusive of sinkings) almost twice as large as in December, 1943. We now have 12,400,000 displacement tons of naval vessels of all types. The big addition to the fleet in numbers of ships was the result of the number-one program at the beginning of the year—landing craft. The value of landing-craft deliveries more than doubled in 1944, as compared to 1943.

The submarine program in 1944 reaped the benefits of past work done on construction. On a dollar-value basis deliveries increased 39 per cent over 1943. Deliveries of transports in 1944, on a tonnage basis were eight times deliveries in 1943.

With this substantial increase in the size of the fleet, it was only natural that naval-ordnance production should show great gains. Production of naval guns of over 20 mm. increased 40 per cent in 1944. In the category of large naval guns (of over 105 mm.), production increased two and one-half times.

In some of the large categories of munitions production, 1944 output showed a decrease from the previous year. The major munitions category, combat and motor vehicles, for instance, decreased 17 per cent in 1944 from the peak year of 1943. Production of tanks, which fall in this group, went down from a high of 29,000 in 1943 to 17,600. The Army has called for new models, however, with greater fire power, and these new tanks must be turned out at quantity rates, while at the same time present models must continue to come off the assembly lines in sufficient quantities. The number of heavy-duty trucks produced in 1944—a "must" program for more than a year—increased 35 per cent over 1943 output, but military requirements called for an even greater increase.

Again in the major munitions category, guns and fire control for the Army Service Forces showed a decrease of 36 per cent. Production of the important heavy ground artillery showed an increase of 75 per cent.

The overall volume of ammunition also increased 17 per cent in 1944, and this program will continue to expand. Production of aerial bombs for the Army increased 45 per cent over 1943 production. Sixty per cent more rounds of ammunition were manufactured for the heavy guns.

Aircraft production in numbers of planes reached its all-time peak in 1944 with more than 96,000 planes. From now on the increase in aircraft production will have to be measured in terms of airframe weight. Something more than 83,000 planes are called for in the 1945 program; but production will be concentrated on the heavy planes, which take longer to build and require more man hours than the types previously stressed in the program.

Thus, although because of cutbacks in some military programs and an easing in the supply of aluminum, copper and steel, at the beginning of 1944 the United States took some steps toward reconversion planning, the year has ended on a definitely military note of all-out production of critically needed war items.

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS FORUM

How Can We Make Sure Of Postwar Jobs For All?

AN INDUSTRIALIST'S VIEW | A LEGISLATOR'S VIEW

I

The Industrialist's View

BY PAUL G. HOFFMAN

Chairman, Committee for Economic Development

THE responsibility for providing postwar jobs is many sided. At least four major questions must be considered:

1. How many jobs will be needed?
2. When will they be needed?
3. Where will they be found?
4. How can they be created?

We must admit that no one knows exactly how many jobs will be needed to provide abundant employment after victory. There seems to be general agreement among economists and statisticians that in the immediate postwar period an employment level of between 53,000,000 and 56,000,000 civilian jobs, not counting those connected with the armed services, will be satisfactory. This means the creation of from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 more peacetime jobs than were available in 1940, our last peacetime year.

When will these 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 new jobs be needed? That depends entirely on when we achieve final victory over Japan as well as Germany. Our plans for providing this greatly expanded employment should be ready to be put into action the minute Germany collapses, because the period of greatest crisis may be that between the fall of Germany and that of Japan. On the day Germany gives up, our domestic economy will be confronted with many of the problems which total peace will bring.

Cutbacks in war production may throw millions of men out of employment, and the probabilities are that the armed services will begin releasing men. If we are not ready with plans for getting these men back into civilian work as quickly as possible, if we are not prepared to deal with the problems of peace when Germany falls, partial peace may bring a partial paralysis of our economy.

That would be disastrous, not only from the standpoint of winning the peace, but also from that of finishing the war with Japan in the shortest possible time. Confusion and chaos on the home front would delay the day of ultimate victory. High and sustained civilian morale, based on confidence in the future, will hasten it.

Where will those jobs be found? Employment is found in only two fields—private and public enterprise. In 1940, of the 46,000,000 jobs then available, approximately 43,000,00 were in the field of private enterprise—in commerce, agriculture, man-

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ufacturing, the professions, trades and services. The remaining 3,000,000 were in the field of public enterprise—in the regular establishments of federal, state and local governments.

Undoubtedly in the postwar period there will be some expansion above the prewar level of employment in regular governmental services. Useful public works also would supply some of the new jobs needed. There is unanimous agreement, however, that it is highly desirable that the great bulk of those jobs be found in the field of private employment. Every businessman will agree that nothing would be more disastrous than reliance on government alone for the necessary expansion in employment.

Nothing I have said should be interpreted as opposition to having jobs available on public works. It is unfortunate that we haven't ready now a much larger shelf of projects with blueprints and with financial arrangements made. Too much of the planning for postwar public works is still in the dream stage.

How are jobs created? It is easier to explain how they are not created than how they are. Jobs are not made by speeches about full employment, nor in any real sense by adding names to public or private payrolls. Actually, useful jobs stem only from the production and distribution of goods and services. Therefore, to get more jobs we must expand consumption and production.

Expansion of production—that is, expansion of private enterprise—involves many complex factors, ranging from hard cash to daring imagination. Before output can be increased sufficiently to provide one new job, someone has to have an idea. There must be a plan, capital and the willingness to risk that capital, plus the necessary skill in production or distribution, or both, to translate the plan into a program of action.

Creating the 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 new peacetime jobs which we shall need in the postwar period will require hundreds of thousands of ideas, billions in risked capital and a vast amount of courage. For these new jobs can be created only through an increase in our national output of goods and services to a level 30 to 45 per cent above that of 1940. Stated in terms of 1943 prices, it means we must achieve a gross output of from $155,000,000,000 to $170,000,000,000.

Can we reach the goal we've set? The fact that we need a great expansion in private enterprise is no guarantee that it will be forthcoming. It is my studied opinion, however, that this goal can be reached under certain conditions. First of all, business, labor, agriculture and government must give something more than lip service to the idea of an economy of abundance. They must embrace with enthusiasm the opportunity to achieve such an economy.

The panic of the late twenties and the depression which followed gave birth to some strange thinking on the part of business, labor, agriculture and government—thinking which found expression in weird policies. Business, suffering from a lack of volume, initiated, and in large measure supported, the NRA, with its codes for increasing prices and stifling competition. Offering better values became a crime. Numerous programs were offered by various sections of agriculture for cutting down acreage and plowing under crops. These

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programs were supported, perhaps reluctantly, by most of America's farmers.

Labor, not to be outdone, went to new lengths in imposing unnecessary restrictions on output. Government obligingly gave legislative sanction to many of these measures designed to fasten upon us an economy of scarcity.

It took a war to change our thinking, to lead us to accept goals of greater and greater production, and above all to restore our faith in ourselves. Today no one doubts America's capacity to produce. And no one quarrels with the idea that we must produce more if we are to have more to divide. But there still remains the urgent necessity of revising many of the policies of business, labor, and agriculture, and of changing many of the laws of the land, before we can hope to achieve a peacetime economy of abundance.

Everybody's Responsibility

BUSINESS must turn its back on monopolistic practices. It must apply with new vigor its traditional policy of expanding markets through short profits. It must make its full contribution to the achievement of a postwar standard of living much higher than that prevailing in 1940. Only with a prosperous agriculture and a well-paid labor force can we hope for the high level of consumption necessary to support a high level of production.

Labor must realize that the surest method by which real wages, rather than mere money wages, can be raised is through an increase in the output per worker. This does not mean a speed-up, or working man's muscles harder. It does mean that we must take advantage as quickly as possible of every technological advancement which puts horsepower behind muscle power. It does mean that restrictions on the use of incentive forms of payment should be removed.

Agriculture must continue its normal policy of high-level production. The records show that agricultural output has been stabilized at a high level since early in the present century, and has reached an all-time peak during the war. Agriculture's postwar problem is to find profitable peacetime markets for this increased production.

On government rests the great responsibility of challenging and changing all policies and laws which promote scarcity rather than abundance. Fiscal policies must be developed and coordinated which will contribute as far as possible to stability. Our federal tax system must be revised so as to bear as lightly as possible on consumption, production and employment. All problems growing out of the transition from war to peace must be faced in the knowledge that the quick achievement of abundant employment and production is a first essential.

The aggregate of government activities must result in an economic climate favorable to the expansion of present businesses and to the establishment of hundreds of thousands of new businesses. What is needed is not one overall master plan, but three million bold and intelligent plans—one for each present job giver, one for each prospective job giver. And each and every plan should be made by the enterpriser himself.

Business, labor and agriculture each have the right—in fact the duty—to make recommendations as to the changes in laws and policies which they believe necessary. But if those recommendations are to be heeded, it is imperative that they reflect a sense of responsibiliy to the nation as a whole. Group interests must be subordinated to the general welfare.

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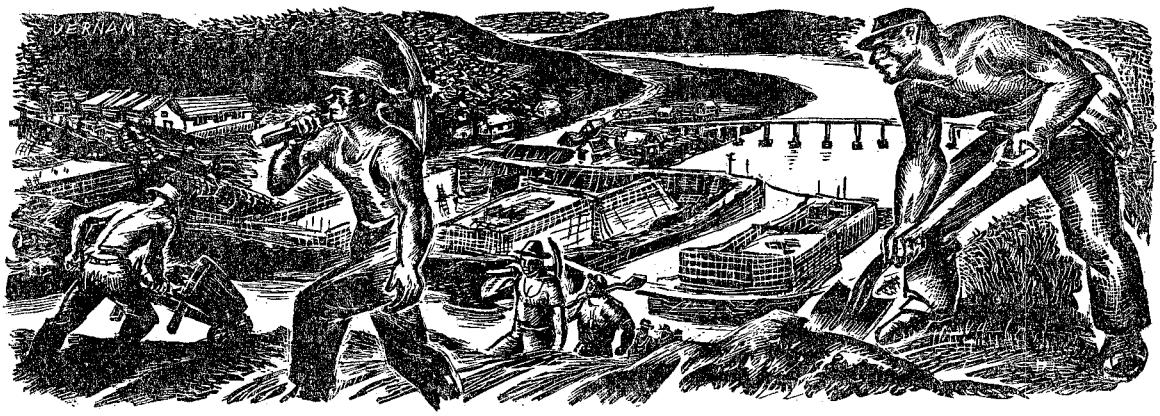

II.

The Legislator's View

By

JAMES E. MURRAY

U. S. Senator from Montana

THE relationship between government on the one hand and business on the other has manifested itself in constant change. When capitalism was born, in the days of the industrial revolution, business issued a "Declaration of Independence" of its own. This declaration aimed at the establishment once and for all of the doctrine of non-interference by goverment in the legitimate sphere of business.

It was axiomatic for the proponents of this doctrine that any government action in the realm of economics must by necessity be antagonistic to business, and be designed to destroy its hard-won independence.

We here in America have shown that this assumption is without foundation. Business itself has time and time again called for and received government assistance.

In America, private enterprise and political democracy have developed and flourished side by side.

During the nineteenth century our government deliberately set out to aid private enterprise in developing our continent, through the enactment of the Homestead Act, the Railroad Land Grant Act and the mineral and mining laws, which threw open the public domain to exploitation and development. As early as 1816 we began to enact tariff laws deliberately designed to protect and foster business, rather than to raise revenue. After the Civil War, through the pension system, we increased the capacity of our population to consume the newly developed riches, and thereby provided additional incentive for further expansion.

Although we have thus been strengthening our economic system through the years, as yet we have been unable to control the violent economic fluctuations which have resulted in periodic mass unemployment.

Today we must prove to ourselves that government and business are capable of cooperating toward the end of avoiding another period of violent fluctuation. If we don't, I fear we may lose both private enterprise and political democracy, for millions of unemployed veterans and war workers might seek postwar security at any price. Events in other countries have demonstrated the political consequences of serious economic stresses.

The Full Employment Bill introduced by Senators Wagner, Thomas of Utah, O'Mahoney and myself is designed to use our established democratic processes to aid free enterprise in making the capitalistic

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system work as it should work in America.

In the past we have lacked the essential weapons to deal with the problem of unemployment effectively. The proposed Full Employment Bill supplies us with the three elements we have lacked in the past:

First, it establishes a national policy on the maintenance of employment opportunities.

Second, it creates a budgetary system to appraise the operations of both the national economy and the Government.

Third, it defines the economic responsibilities of the President and the Congress.

A National Policy

IT SHOULD be the policy of the United States to assure the existence at all times of sufficient employment opportunities for all Americans able and wanting to work. The right to a job does not mean guaranteeing John Jones a given job carrying a set salary and a definite social standing. Yet nobody will deny that our economic system of free enterprise must offer *opportunities* for jobs.

Full employment is not a static condition; it does not mean that at any given time there should be no unemployment at all. Our economic system requires flexibility. Technological advances, the desire to shift to other work, seasonal changes in production, or other circumstances unavoidably cause what is known among economists as "short-run frictional unemployment." As conditions change, the volume of this relatively small amount of frictional unemployment will also change.

The responsibility of the Government with regard to full employment is clearly stated in the bill:

"To assist industry, agriculture, labor, and state and local governments in achieving continuing full employment, it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to pursue such consistent and openly-arrived-at economic policies and programs as will stimulate and encourage the highest feasible levels of employment through private and other non-federal investment and expenditure.

"To the extent that continuing full employment cannot otherwise be achieved, it is the further responsibility of the Federal Government to provide such volume of federal investment and expenditure as may be needed to assure continuing full employment."

A *Budgetary System*

THE Full Employment Bill sets up a National Production and Employment Budget to appraise the extent to which the total demand for goods and services will provide productive employment. This budget includes investment and expenditures by all groups in the country: consumers, business, state and local governments and the Federal Government. The sum total of all these expenditures adds up to what the economists call "the gross national product" or the "gross national income," which is the generally accepted measurement of our Nation's total economic activity.

When the aggregate volume of expenditures by consumers, business, state and local governments and the Federal Government is equivalent to the volume needed to guarantee full employment, the national production and employment budget is balanced. But if there is a deficiency of total expenditures, the result will be unemployment.

The purpose of this new budgetary system, then, is to provide a business-like

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way of determining whether a production and employment deficit is probable, and if so, of estimating: (1) the fiscal or other programs required to encourage additional private employment, and (2) whatever program of federal investment and expenditure may be required, as a last resort, to supplement private employment.

A Framework of Responsibility

THE responsibility of the President would be to report to Congress, at the beginning of each regular session, on the extent to which our economy is providing employment. This report might be regarded as an essential part of the "State of the Union" message. If the President found that there was existing or prospective unemployment, he would be required to transmit his program for assuring full employment through stimulating private enterprise and through necessary government programs, together with his recommendations for such additional legislation as he deemed desirable.

At the present moment, unfortunately, there is no single body in either House of the Congress which has the responsibility of considering the regular federal budget in a comprehensive manner. For example, both Houses of Congress have just received the President's proposed budget for the coming fiscal year. The Appropriations Committee will study its proposals for individual agencies. The Finance Committee will study its estimates of revenue. But no committee will study the proposed budget as a whole, or its relation to our national economy.

A joint committee is proposed, to make a detailed study of the national production and employment budget to be transmitted to Congress by the President. This committee, called the Joint Committee on the Budget, would be composed of fifteen members of each House, chosen in such a manner as to reflect the relative political strength of the major political parties.

By March 1 of each year, at the very latest, this committee would be expected to report to both Houses of Congress a joint resolution setting forth a general policy with respect to the national budget for the next fiscal year.

Consideration of the joint resolution would mean an annual debate in both Houses on national economic policy. The resolution could then be amended as the majority determined. As finally agreed upon, it would serve as a general framework of policy, and on this basis the various committees of Congress could work out individual appropriation and revenue acts and related measures.

These provisions would go a long way toward restoring Congress to its rightful place as the policy-determining branch of the government.

Together these three measures would do much to eliminate uncertainty about the government's fiscal policies, and thus would help business itself to plan effectively for full employment.

Postwar full employment is not only our number-one domestic problem, but also one of the cornerstones on which we must build a sound American foreign policy.

The United States is today the world's most important industrial nation. Its power for good or evil in international economic relations is overwhelming. Only a prosperous America—and that means a fully employed America—will be willing and able to participate prominently in a program calling for the international exchange of large quantities of goods and services.

Looking at the other side of the coin, we see that the soundness of the political and economic fabric of most other nations will depend in no small degree on the ability of the United States to achieve a high level of exports and imports. It is not out of altruism, therefore, that these nations pray that the United States may be spared another serious depression. They realize that full employment in the United States is a first and necessary step on the road to permanent peace among nations.

FREE WORLD will publish further articles on this subject of postwar jobs for all, representing the views of small business and labor. Meanwhile, won't you write us your personal opinion on the best means of insuring full employment after this war? The best letters will be published.

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LONDON LETTER

Politics Problems and People

By
MARY SEATON

"He's still there." —London Daily Express

ERNEST BEVIN, Britain's massive, harsh-voiced Socialist Minister of Labor, is steering through Parliament a bill which will improve the postwar lives of fifteen million workers and their families.

It bears the uninspiring title, Wages Council Bill, but its heavy Whitehallese sets forth a Worker's Charter.

It's aim is to prevent any landslide in wages and conditions when peace brings a slackening of production. It lays down the terms for a national wage structure which will guarantee to every worker those wages which have been agreed upon during wartime both by unions and employers. Moreover, any worker who is victimized or underpaid will be able to sue his boss in a court of law.

It extends the powers of the present Trade Boards, which handle wage questions and other negotiations, and introduces Wages Councils to protect the interests of badly organized workers who have no powerful unions to fight for them. Of Britain's fifteen million workers, only about eight million are members of unions affiliated with the Trade Union Council, and therefore this new protection will embrace nearly half our workers.

These Wages Councils, besides handling wage agreements, can also recommend welfare measures such as longer vacations with pay.

This bill puts up the shutters of the sweat shops for good. It gives workers a security on which they can base their family lives; it makes them able to reckon for months ahead how much to spend weekly on their children, their homes and themselves.

Two years ago when Bevin introduced the Catering Bill, which laid down precise conditions and wages for hotel and restaurant workers—previously among the worst treated workers—there was a loud Tory

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outcry. But this time only the worst reactionaries are objecting. Prime Minister Churchill, Sir John Anderson and both groups of Liberals—with of course all other progressives—support the bill. Ernest Bevin, the poor Bristol back-street boy who fought his way up through his union (they called him the dockers' K.C.) to cabinet rank, considers this the greatest triumph of his life.

There are those who criticize Bevin as hard, unimaginative and right-wing. Certainly he is on the right in the Labor Party, and his ideas on foreign policy are even Tory. But anyone who watched Bevin's face at the D-Day send-off of our boys and saw his expression as they called to him, marching by to their troop transports, "Will you get me a job when I come back, Ernie?" knows he meant it when he said, quietly: "I'll see these boys get their jobs, if it's the last thing I do."

Since then Bevin has worked all hours on the final amendments to the bill, and has held scores of confidential meetings both with union men and with employers to smooth its passage through Parliament.

Now it has passed its second reading. It still must go through further stages of discussion, both privately in committee and publicly in the Houses of Commons and Lords. But within two months it should be law.

"Not much of that 'cradle to the grave' stuff, baby! Grandpa's sensitive." —London Evening News

War on Cartels

WHILE the fighting in Europe grows more bitter, Britain's behind-the-scenes war between reactionaries and progressives becomes fiercer each week. Some of the clashes are public, notably that on Greece, and the argument about the nationalization of mines and land.

The general election, expected sometime this summer after the defeat of Germany, will bring all these struggles out into the open. It will, say the prophets, prove the most heated electoral battle in the country's recent history, after a truce lasting nearly ten years.

The most thoroughly hushed, though very significant scrap now going on is over cartels and monopolies.

Two influential papers, namely the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Economist*, have drawn attention to the government's failure to tackle anti-cartel legislation. Hugh Dalton indicated some months ago that he was planning to introduce this legislation. But since then nothing has been heard of it.

The *Guardian* says: "Something has forced him to retreat." What is that something? A clue is contained in a recent article in the *Economist* which reads: "The failure of the Board of Trade to get the Cabinet's assent to its very modest proposals for anti-monopoly legislation is not encouraging. . . . It is said the opposition comes from a coalition of Big Business with the trade unions."

The Cabinet's exact position is not publicly known, since its discussions are secret. But I learned from an authoritative source that two years ago a bill was prepared relating selling prices to production costs. This obviously would fall far short of breaking the power of the monopolies, but it would mean a measure of "interference" which Big Business would thoroughly resent.

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The chief reason why some of the big union leaders are friendly toward cartels is that in negotiations it is more convenient to deal with compact bodies of employers. Other labor men believe that eventually it will prove much easier to "take over" highly-organized industrial groups. But some are concerned more with getting as much as possible for their workers out of the present system, rather than with changing the system. These are not, of course, included among the progressives. Indeed, Socialists dislike their reactionary, narrow, vested-interest views, and feel that their very presence in the labor movement is an obstacle to radical change.

This anti-monopoly battle will soon become much more open. A group of progressive M.P.'s are demanding a public government inquiry into the whole cartel question.

The Coal War

THE final clash between progressives and the coal owners over the ownership of the mines is coming. The miners' leaders are putting the finishing touches to their plan for nationalization. The owners are launching an intensive propaganda drive against this plan.

The miners, in their valleys and villages, embittered by a history of wage struggles more bitter than in any other industry, are wondering what will happen. The public, fearing a further drop in coal output—already there are shortages in many towns, and rumors that war production will suffer—is taking more interest in the mines than ever before.

Nationalization was urged by a government commission in 1919, after a period of trouble among the miners and falling output. But the owners fought it, and won. The recent American Mission made the same sort of technical criticisms as the 1919 Commission. Now the owners themselves have admitted that it will cost from one hundred and fifty to three hundred million pounds to reequip the mines properly, and say that they cannot provide the money out of their profits. Moreover, they are unwilling to do so for fear of inadequate compensation if the mines are nationalized. One solution, they say, is a subsidy from the state; yet, on the other hand, they fight the continuance of any control by the state.

"Pulling the wishbone—in the street that had only one." —London Evening News

Meanwhile every year one miner out of four in one group alone, those under eighteen, is being killed or injured, chiefly because of bad conditions. The men demand nationalization. But many are so embittered by their decades of struggle and depression, by the appalling housing and the poor prospects of advancement in mining that they add, "Even so, we won't let our boys go down the pit."

It is a souring industry. Nationalization alone, with real proof that the nation intends to do its best for the miners, can prevent its gradual collapse.

Land and Housing

FURTHER friction about our postwar homes: Progressives are contending that only if land is nationalized can a comprehensive national housing drive be planned. Landowners, represented largely by the Tory Party, say this is unnecessary, and have just brought forth proposals which admit a certain amount of state control, with government subsidies.

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The Tory plan calls for 750,000 homes to be built within two years of peace. But progressives say this isn't nearly enough. The country needs 4,000,000 houses, labor experts estimate, if the slums and blitzed areas are to be cleared and if young couples returning from factory and battle front are to get the homes they have been dreaming about. The progressives too have precise proposals—but they involve the nationalization, with compensation, of the Tory landowners' property.

This question too will be settled by the coming election.

Modern Greek Tragedy

PROGRESSIVES, and especially Socialists, are deeply angered by the sacrifice of British lives in shooting down the Greek Left. Americans may be amazed that the British progressives have permitted this reactionary policy to be carried to such lengths. There are two things to remember: (1) Although Prime Minister Churchill has always been imperialistic and anti-progressive in his foreign policy (a quarter of a century ago he tried to destroy the Russian revolution, and in the past he has publicly praised Mussolini and Franco), he is a reformist in domestic affairs. This fact, and the memory of how he rallied the country after Dunkirk, have gained him such popularity among the less politically-conscious that he can get away with a lot. (2) Progressives here, particularly labor, have exerted ceaseless pressure against our military intervention, and this is responsible for the present slight improvement in Greece.

In protesting, labor was hampered by the knowledge that nothing would please the Tories more than an excuse to rush through an election on some issue of foreign policy. But the Labor Party needs more time to prepare, especially to perfect the complex plans for nationalization which it intends to put before the country; it dare not withdraw from the coalition just yet. Therefore its protest was muted.

In the middle of January a delegation of labor leaders called to see Mr. Churchill at No. 10 Downing Street. He walked into the mahogany-furnished Cabinet Room, with its classic oil paintings, looking, I was told, "like a bull." For an hour and twenty minutes Greece was discussed, and Mr. Churchill said that an amnesty was being arranged.

His attack in Parliament later on those papers which have consistently criticized his policy in Greece (notably the *Times, Manchester Guardian, News Chronicle, New Statesman, Tribune* and *Daily Worker*) was not well received, and the *Times* in particular continues to be critical.

A by-election pending in Essex may prove to be yet another barometer of public opinion. The Tories are putting up a young airman—and so is the Common Wealth Party, declaring it will fight chiefly on the issue of Greece and the effects of Tory policy in Europe.

The growing chasm between the Left and the Right points to an early election after Germany's military defeat, and those who now assert that the possibility of a third world war depends on the outcome of this election may prove to be right.

Five Prerequisites

The necessary steps to a truly free world are quite simple and sensible:

1. The great powers must stick together, not seeking to undermine each other, but continuing "to promote the general welfare" and "to provide for the common defense."

2. The national resources of the world must be pooled for the benefit of all peoples everywhere, under common planning, with higher living standards for all taking precedence over higher profits for some.

3. Any and every kind of fascism must be permanently outlawed.

4. A minimum of basic human rights must be internationally guaranteed.

5. Restrictions and discriminations against minorities and depressed classes everywhere must be eliminated without exception.

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To Youth

A Message From the President of Uruguay

On December 31, 1944, at a session organized by the Uruguayan Free World, the President of the Republic, Juan Jose Amezaga, delivered to youth the message reproduced on this page. Free World and the Free World Association in Uruguay sought in this manner to reaffirm confidence in the ideals of youth and in youth's ability to strengthen the cause of justice and liberty.

TODAY those who aspire eagerly toward a better world for their fellow-beings look to youth to formulate and carry out a program of action. It is you, the young, who must join together to achieve a greater material and moral well-being for all peoples. It is you who must adjust your conduct to the ideal of a permanent and free solidarity of all human beings.

As Clarin has stated in his beautiful prologue to Ibering's *Struggle for Right*:

"The right, like the law of the state, and like the conviction of the people, and like custom, and like an artistic work of jurisprudence, is the product of human effort, and a product which requires effort and constant struggle, with obstacles of many kinds. The right goes forward, like the car of the Indian deity over the entrails of the victim whom it is necessary to sacrifice; it goes forward over the injustices of the earth, which are for the tyrants, for the exploiters of the human race, like their entrails.

"The chisel of the legislator and of the jurist works on live flesh. Every right which is obtained, kills something which must die, but which someone is defending to the last breath—someone who lives on injustice. Hence the very sad necessity of struggling sometimes until blood is spilled."

In our youth, we abhor scepticism and condemn the apathetic, lazy and resigned fatalism of those who abandon defense.

Those of us who are now about to take leave of the creative forces of life welcome the arrival of the youth that is coming to take our places in planning and struggling. These young people are animated by noble ideals and possessed of energy which renews itself daily. This energy embraces the inexhaustible fertility of life. These young men will not falter in the face of obstacles that beset the paths of human progress.

Whether old or young, we must never forget that the spiritual wealth we all possess in greater or less degree belongs to humanity. For it has taken humanity many centuries of slow and painful effort to accumulate the principles and teachings which are the basis of present knowledge. Our spiritual treasure belongs to the society in which we live, our permanent fountain of intuitions, suggestions and experiences.

May you help one another, in free and loyal understanding, to establish and extend the knowledge which you have acquired. Root out of your hearts scholastic jealousies. Begin early to cultivate feelings of solidarity with your fellows. Prepare yourselves from early youth to share your knowledge with your neighbor without selfishness.

In this way, you will prepare more fertile and happier soil for future generations. Struggle for the right, for culture and, for the future well-being of yourselves and your fellow men.

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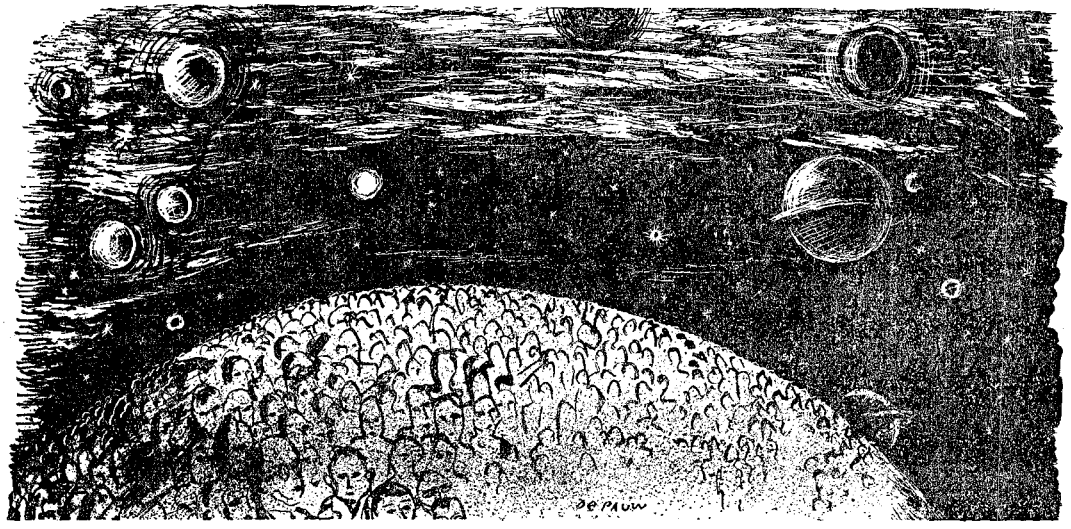

Passengers On Planet Earth

By

HARLAN T. STETSON

We are outward bound on planet Earth, from an unknown port to a mysterious destination. But we have learned much about our ship's course and speed, and ways in which the changing climate of the cosmos affects health, behavior and sociability on board. As the journey is long and as our ship's resources are shrinking, we are even beginning to cast our nets for the untrapped wealth of energy that surrounds us in the cosmic sea.

WE human beings on the planet Earth find ourselves, like passengers aboard a ship, sailing the high seas of space from one part of the universe to another. No one knows from what port the ship set out. No one knows its destination.

Quite likely in the distant past we have sailed through clouds of cosmic fog. For the moment we are in the clear, where we can survey the stars, the distant lighthouses of space. In what far future we may again penetrate a cosmic fog bank, which will cut off a substantial portion of the sun's radiation, we do not know. But such adventures in the past have left their scars in the geologic records of prehistoric times.

Our fellow passengers aboard this planet belong to many races and hold many faiths. From the point of view of the ship, or of the stellar universe through which we are traveling, it is of little consequence how these passengers are distributed among the decks and quarters. For the welfare of those on board, however, it matters greatly how the passengers get along with one another. Much depends on their mutual interest in and their reaction to an ever-changing environment.

With various degrees of intelligence our fellow passengers view the changing panorama of the sky and speculate upon the meaning of the voyage and the ship's destiny. Opportunities for learning some-

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thing about the vessel's course and speed and about its varying environment provide a bond of mutual interest, and make it possible for all on board eventually to perfect an adjustment to their physical surroundings and to one another.

We have been passing through an age of rapid advance in all the sciences. This has resulted in a high degree of specialization, with a tendency to break down the subject matter of each field into ever smaller subdivisions. Often this has been done at the expense of perspective; we easily lose sight of the broader aspects of natural phenomena, whose interpretation awaits a synthetic approach.

This broad approach, which I call cosmecology, requires the coordination of physics, meteorology, radio engineering, astronomy, biology and perhaps even economics in some of its larger aspects. The term "cosmecology" was first introduced into scientific literature ten years ago in my book *Earth, Radio and the Stars.* My reason for using a new term was the fact that the study of the earth and its inhabitants in relation to the cosmic scheme, since it must integrate our technical knowledge in a number of fields, may very well constitute a new science.

Much has happened in the past decade to justify the hypothesis that our extraterritorial environment has an important influence on terrestial affairs. During the last sunspot cycle we again observed the electrical ionization of the upper atmosphere increasing and decreasing with the changes on the sun. We were even able to predict radiotelegraphic conditions by anticipating the waxing and waning of the sunspots.

There is accumulated evidence that the moon produces tides not only in the oceans, but also in the earth's atmosphere, and that the ionized layer of the upper atmosphere—that layer which makes radio communication possible—is in some way modified by the emission of photo-electrons from the moon. Presumably these photo-electrons are released by the impact on the lunar surface of X-rays or extreme ultraviolet rays emitted by the sun.

Furthermore, cosmic rays of even greater energy pour into the earth from interstellar space. The significance of these rays for living things is something which we have not yet begun to understand. Thus we see that a synthesis of many sciences is needed to explain many earthly phenomena which in the long run must affect all mankind and all human behavior.

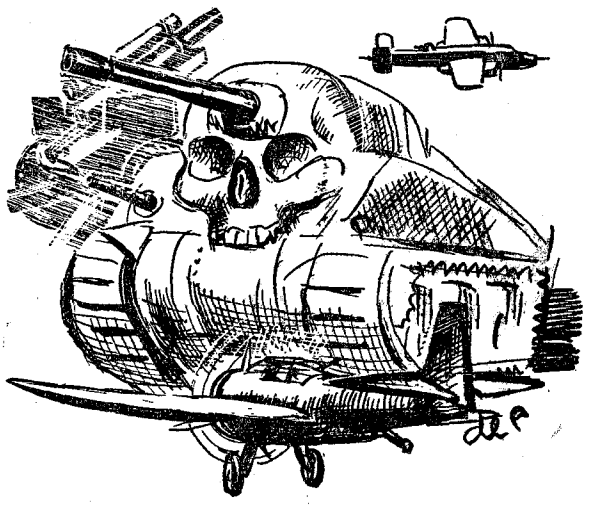
Solar Power

HOWEVER fascinating may be the study of far-off stars, and however intriguing the mysteries of interstellar space through which we pass, the fact remains that of all astronomical bodies, the sun is of greatest importance to life on the earth, and that it is the sun's motion through space which is responsible for our novel voyage.

A million times bigger than the earth, the sun is a typical star, pouring forth unimaginable energy, of which the earth can intercept but one two-billionth part. Yet it is this mere trickle of solar energy which makes life and activity possible on the earth.

Records found in the growth rings of ancient trees and in carboniferous deposits of early geological times reveal unmistakably that changes in the amount of solar radiation received by the earth have produced important variations in the condition of the earth's surface. There appear to have been rythmic sequences favorable and unfavorable to life and to civilization. In a cycle of climatic change, it appears that we are now emerging into a period of greater warmth.

The large amount of solar energy received by the earth places at man's dis-



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posal four million horsepower for every square mile of the earth's surface exposed directly to sunshine. Man, however, has not yet learned the secrets of transforming this power for mechanical use. With the diminishing of our resources of coal and oil, the problem of converting solar energy may become urgent sooner than we think. Whether this secret will be learned before or after science has unlocked the energy stored within the atom is anybody's guess. When either of these new sources of energy is tapped efficiently, the effect on our economy and our civilization will be global in scope.

Science is constantly changing our social and economic world, and for every new discovery there are concomitant dangers. One hesitates to think of the dangers inherent in the discovery of new sources of energy, unless or until mankind progresses sufficiently in the science of human relationships to forestall the use of such energy for destructive ends.

Traits of human nature evolved in the jungle are still with us. In the strange economy of nature, selfishness instilled for the preservation of the individual conflicts with the desire for communal welfare, with instincts necessary for the preservation of the human race. At the moment, progress in physical science has outrun that in the slowly evolving science of human behavior.

In view of the catastrophic destruction produced by the present war, one should perhaps be at least tolerant of those apprehensive minds exemplified by the Bishop of Ripon, who some years ago suggested that it would be well for the world if science were to take a ten-year holiday!

Some time ago there appeared an article entitled "The Scientific Spirit in the Modern World" which is one of the severest indictments of science and scientists that I have seen. The author, a former assistant attorney-general of the United States, contends that the scientific spirit has reduced to insignificance man's place in the universe, that it has devitalized religion and destroyed those inner resources in which man once found strength. He accuses science of leaving mankind in an intellectual muddle, without confidence in the present or faith in the future. He blames scientific genius for making man a victim of his own accomplishments, condemns it for evaluating civilization in terms of the development of the material accessories of life. "What will be the end," he concludes, "if life continues to be controlled by undisciplined, unchastened, and unmoral scientific spirit?"

One cannot but believe that there are many, ignorant of the true spirit of science, who share such a viewpoint. Can we blame them, when we consider the hideous impact of scientific gadgetry, responsible for the wholesale destruction in modern warfare?

Science, however, can scarcely be blamed for the misuse of her inventions, any more than can Heaven be blamed for the indiscriminate showers of rain that fall on the just and on the unjust. To allow ourselves such irrational inferences is to revert to the emotionalism of childhood. The child blames the object which produced the bruise, though the fall was caused by his own lack of understanding of the law of gravity. Every scientific invention can be made to serve either constructive or destructive ends.

When some genius of paleolithic times was first successful in sharpening a flint to a cutting edge, he facilitated hunting for food and the construction of shelters and dugout canoes; yet probably some savages immediately seized upon the device as a more destructive weapon for warfare. Does one decry these primitive advances in civilization because of their misuse? When Galileo produced the telescope in 1610, and revealed the moons of Jupiter and countless stars in the Milky Way, he was opening up a new universe. The official inspection party, however, who came to see his magic glass, gave their highest praise because this would give them great advantages in time of war.

When Alfred Bernhard Nobel patented high explosives in 1867, he placed in the hands of engineers one of the tools most constructive and powerful which man has known. It made possible the tunneling of mountains, made the mining of coal and metals less expensive, and opened new routes to navigation. But Nobel himself was the first to feel anxiety about what might happen when inevitably such chemicals fell into the hands of those who would

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use them to destructive ends. Should Alfred Nobel be blamed, or science censured, for the discovery of the chemical formula of dynamite, or of TNT?

In spite of the devastating destruction made possible by the adaptation of scientific inventions to modern warfare, the social progress brought about by science may provide insurance against disintegrating elements in civilization. The spirit of free peoples, rising in defiance of a threatening despotism, has been flashed by radio to every region on the globe. No midnight ride of Paul Revere is necessary to spread alarm when hourly news flashes bring word of world events to every fireside. Statesmen, representatives and heads of governments bring their messages into every home with the personal appeal of the living voice. Airplanes convey diplomats across the Atlantic in less time than a courier could make the distance from Washington to Philadelphia during our war for freedom.

New Role for Science

IN our postwar world, we are informed, no spot on the globe will be more than sixty hours' flying time away. In a few years there will be an international interchange of goods and peoples exceeding all transoceanic traffic of our most prosperous prewar years. Isolationism is a thing of the past, whether we will it or not.

People of races, creeds, and social and political customs foreign to the American way will be our intimate neighbors. Such proximity offers opportunity for better cooperation and better understanding. At the same time it presents grave dangers of misunderstanding and of the clashing of personalities and types for whom different heritages have provided opportunities for friction. Thus we are confronted more sharply than ever before with our backwardness in the science of human relationships.

The spirit of scientific inquiry has given the mastery of the earth, sea and air, and through the patient technic of the laboratory, has uncovered the secrets of the physical world. If we apply that same unbiased method to the study of human relationships, we may be hopeful for the future of mankind.

The problem of the misuse of scientific inventions is fundamentally a social and an economic one. Yet a sane approach to such international problems must be essentially that of science. Fortunately there is a growing consciousness among our scientific leaders that science must direct itself to these problems of society and of human behavior with the same exactitude and untiring persistence that is exercised in the problems of the laboratory.

It is not improbable that science itself may be the bond creating a closer relationship between nations and between peoples. Science recognizes no territorial boundaries, makes no racial discriminations. Every land has contributed to the sum total of human knowledge.

Many problems of geoscience already have been solved, and many others await solution, through the cooperation of many nations. This fact has perhaps no better illustration than the work of one existing international organization, the Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, which has unlocked many secrets of the structure of continents, of the ocean and of the air. This organization has sections devoted to geology, volcanology, seismology, meteorology, terrestrial magnetism and electricity, and physical oceanology—all departments of science of world-wide interest. In the study of weather phenomena, of continental and oceanic structure or of the problems of world-wide radio communication, often we should be at a complete loss but for the fundamental data provided through the cooperation of many countries. Similarly, the problems of cosmecology—of the relationship of the earth to its extraterrestrial environment—can be solved only through the observation of phenomena on a world-wide scale.

In international cooperation in science, one learns to bury rivalries and overlook differences of opinion for the sake of furthering human knowledge. Our methods of education must reflect a broader and more comprehensive viewpoint, in order that the scientific spirit and method may be popularized among those large groups whose only contact with science at present is through convenient gadgets and feats of engineering.

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One cannot conclude a general survey of this subject without giving emphasis to the part which biology plays in the cosmecological approach. Rapid advances in biophysics during the past ten years have laid the foundation for the theory of the electrical basis of life—a theory that a generation ago would have been considered inordinately speculative.

The laboratory technic of such men as Burr of the Department of Neurology of the Yale Medical School has enabled us to map the electrical fields surrounding living cells, and to measure the varying electrical potentials developed in living things. These potentials follow rhythmic patterns, which presumably are due to environmental variants. Through the work of a score of other scientists, a delicate apparatus depicts the patterns of the electrical waves generated by the human brain. Some of these electrical quantities which have been measured are small indeed. Yet when one considers the minuteness of the living cells involved, these electrical fields, when expressed in engineering units, represent forces of very great magnitudes.

The theory of organic evolution has not yet adequately explained the cause of those mutations which in the past have produced entirely new species. Experiments with X-ray radiation on germ cells have produced marked abnormalities in embryonic development. The possibility that the cosmic rays, even more penetrating than X-rays, have played a part in the evolutionary process is receiving serious consideration.

Scarcely more speculative is the thought that photoplasmic phenomena may be materially influenced by the variations in the intensity of the ultra-violet radiation received by the earth from the sun. There is more and more evidence that the quantity of ultra-violet radiation penetrating the earth's atmosphere is determined by the course of the eleven-year sunspot cycle. Variations in solar activity may be found to influence biological phenomena, either directly by stimulation or indirectly through variations in the vitamin content or other characteristics of the food supply. Such a discovery, of course, would have far-reaching implications.

Although the science of endocrinology is still in its infancy, enough has been discovered to reveal intimate relationships between the temperament and behavior pattern and the cycle of endocrine secretions. It may be found that rhythmic cycles in behavior patterns, to which we are all subject, are stimulated or modified by environmental factors linked with external fields. If so, science may make its greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind by providing a basis for anticipating times of strain and stress in the psychology of the masses. Although this is still highly speculative, the possibility invites serious thought.

For the past five years science has been all out for total war. National organizations for scientific research devoted exclusively to the war effort have been established and subsidized on a scale never before attempted. In the postwar period similiar or modified forms of organization may be needed, with adequate governmental support for such an organization as the National Research Council.

It is to be hoped that such governmental agencies as may be called to the aid of science will be wisely guided, and will coordinate the sciences without imposing unnecessary restrictions upon voluntary investigation. Existing and prospective international scientific unions may provide the most effective mechanism for achieving the kind of cooperation in the sciences which would be consistent with a free world.

Complexion Complexities

In Italy where the U. S. Army carefully segregates whites and Negroes, the arrival of the Brazilian contingent, which impartially mixes all possible blends, posed a pretty problem. If we restrict brown Brazilians to black-and-tan canteens, we offend our good neighbors from south of the Orinoco. If we fail to do so, we offend our good neighbors from south of the Potomac.

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Saboteur

Those thousands of kidnaped workers slaving in Germany's war plants—what would they think of a soft peace for the Nazis?

By

GEORGE W. TEPA

THE air-raid sirens of Hamburg sounded at twenty seconds past two. A few moments later they were echoed by the sirens of the Altona plant. The sharp notes of factory whistles accompanied the long-drawn mournful wail. Within a minute the entire "Altona-Motorwerke A.G." was deserted, and Bujak alone remained in the tool-room, gazing blankly at the dirty table on which chips and pieces of bent tin were glistening.

He was past caring. His leg, missing since Kutno, hurt him like the devil. Funny that he should feel a real pain in his toes, foot, knee, even though for three years now there had been but a wooden stump in their place. This reaction of nerve centers somewhere in his brain was all he had felt from the moment when he had received news of his wife's tragic death.

For a brief second there had flitted across his mind a succession of lightning, kaleidoscopic memories of recent years: the battle at Kutno, the operation in the bomb-shattered country schoolhouse, his release from a prison camp and his return to Warsaw, a manhunt in Marszalkowska Street, the five-day trip in a sealed box car, and his receipt of a work card bearing the legend *"freiwilliger Arbeitsgenosse."* Then his faculties had become dulled; he had withdrawn into himself and had become indifferent to everything around him. Now he worked with the mirthless smile of a robot, with the slow, measured movements and the mechanical precision of a man devoid of all inner life. With the same automatic rigidity he gulped down his potato soup and tumbled onto his hard bed, falling into deep sleep.

He lived in the fourth dimension. Neither the cursing nor the threats of the foreman Winkler—who had it in for Bujak and bullied him daily with refined sadism—could pull him out of his lethargy. The cripple was equally indifferent to the foreman's blows. Once Winkler kicked him viciously in his good leg. He fell on his face and remained motionless for a mo-

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ment. Then he rose to his feet and took hold of a heavy wrench. He went up to Winkler, whose purple face had turned ashen. Everyone froze to attention, waiting for the crushing blow. But Bujak looked at the German, shrugged his shoulders and calmly returned to his work.

FROM then on, Winkler avoided the strange toolmaker from Warsaw, whose mask-like face held an unearthly cadaverous horror. But from time to time, when he saw Bujak from a distance, Winkler's hate-filled glance seemed to say that the contest between them was not over.

The short, nervous barking of the anti-aircraft guns changed into a monotonous, endless thunder. But Bujak heard neither the cannonade nor the swelling roar of approaching Wellingtons. He did not see the long fingers of German searchlights slicing the sky. He sat staring dully at the tool-room table. In the dusk of his subconscious a new, unreal world was taking shape—a hodgepodge of memories, fantasies, hallucinations, subcutaneous sensations, scraps of confused dreams. He saw himself, on a beautiful summer evening, in the outskirts of Warsaw near the river. His wife was tucking their little girl into bed and was singing softly,

Ah-ah-ah, kitties two.
This one's gray, the other too.

In the garden the linden trees were in bloom, and their heavy, oppressive fragrance filled the air. From afar came drifting the busy hum of the city. In the street lovers walked arm in arm, happy in the carefree romanticism of their twenties. Someone laughed aloud. Someone else began to play a tune on the mouth organ.

And his wife sang on,

To the woods they quickly ran
And that's when the fun began.

Bujak was happy. He looked at the star-studded sky and puffed on his pipe. Lulled by the soothing melody of the song, his daughter fell asleep. His wife sat down next to him and rested her head on his shoulder. He thought, surely this is happiness. He was content.

Suddenly he felt a painful blow in the back. What's this? Why, he had been sitting with Anna. He rose and swayed, roused from his reverie. In one mad whirl he saw the river district of Warsaw, the linden trees, the couples walking arm in arm, while the last measure of the lullaby rang in his ears—and there before him was the purple, apoplectic face of his foreman.

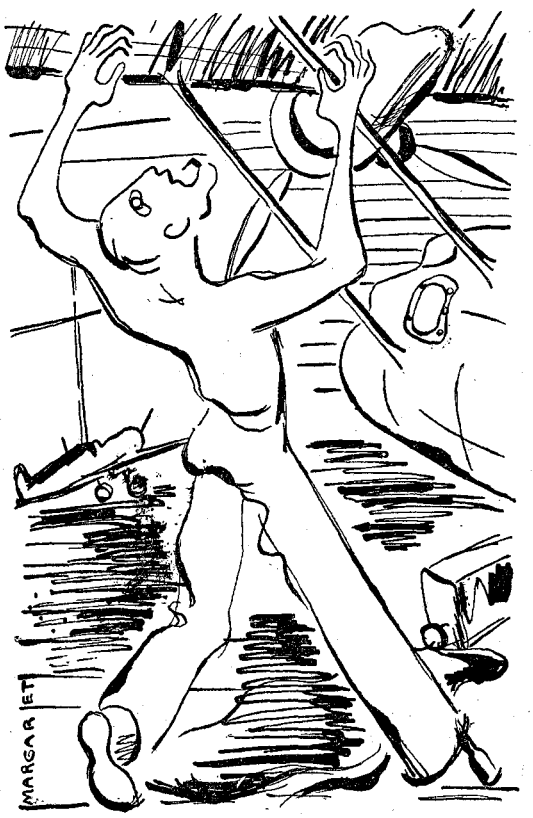
"Was machst du da, Schweinehund!"

What? What's that? What language is he speaking to me? How do I know this language? Did the people of Warsaw speak . . .?

"Schau dass du weiterkommst, polnisches Vieh!"

And suddenly Bujak understood: that an air raid was in progress, that according to regulations he should be in the shelter, that Winkler was the air-raid warden for the pavilion, with complete power over him, and that in a minute Winkler would shoot him down like a dog.

But in the same moment he recalled something else: that he was a Pole, and that Winkler was a German, who had attacked him one warm July evening in Warsaw, killing his wife and carrying off his daughter. Bujak came to and looked about him.



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Winkler was slowly lifting his rifle, aiming across the table. Bujak broke into a merry roguish laugh, devoid of any madness. The German looked up with surprise.

A fraction of a second sufficed. The heavy wrench which Bujak had toyed with on a previous occasion now sailed across the table and struck the German in the head. The rifle fell from his hands. Winkler reeled and leaned against the door. Instantly Bujak was at his side, seizing him by the throat with the tripled strength of a madman. Winkler, as limp as a rag doll, failed to defend himself.

While Bujak choked the German with the convulsive clutch of both hands, at the same time, with the relentless precision of a swinging pendulum, he beat his victim's head against the iron door. Now Winkler's body slumped from his hands. Blood and froth gushed from the German's twisted lips. Bujak reached for the wrench. With the same rhythmic fury with which he had pounded the foreman's head against the door, he swung the wrench until his would-be assassin was a bloody shapeless mass of broken bones, a ghastly crimson trunk topped by a gaping skull.

Bujak discarded the wrench, picked up the gun and entered the main assembly room, where in a long rectangle the silvery bodies of freshly assembled Messerschmitts were shimmering. In a double row under the wall stood cans of fuel ready for tomorrow's test flight. Bujak shot at them at regular intervals, taking calm and accurate aim. The floor was soon moist, and the strong smell of gasoline made him feel faint. One shot more. Another.

Winding rivulets crept near, reached the first line of aircraft. In the blue light of the factory lamps, the rivulets spread wider, then ran together in a flat stream which gurgled along the concrete floor with a joyous sound.

Oblivious to the whistles of the factory guards, to the bullets that buzzed past him to be buried in the wall, Bujak threw his rifle to the ground and took out his matches. They've spilled all over the floor! No, two remained in his hand. He struck them together in the air, now saturated with the choking odor of gasoline.

The room burst into flames. Bujak did not see this. Nor did he notice that the rear wall was cracked and tongues of fire were rushing at the reserve repair hangar. A human torch, blinded, crazed by pain, he stretched his arms before him and howled,

"For Anna! For Warsaw! For Poland! Damn you German sons of bitches!"

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

THEODORE DREISER has been the No. I storm center of American literature for years. It has been said of him that he is "head and shoulders above his contemporaries," and that "no other writer has exerted as great a moral force on his generation." In the long years since *DREISER'S* first novel was published in 1900 he has watched the slow transformation of the American scene. His poem in this issue seems to us to say that in spite of the dark and tragic epochs we are learning to make some small progress toward the establishment of a better world.

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SERGE FLIEGERS studied economics and international relations at London University, Geneva University and Harvard. He worked for various wire services and is now Washington correspondent for an international news agency. Lately he has covered most of the international conferences held on the American continent, including Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, the Chicago Air Conference and the unofficial Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, about which he writes in this issue.

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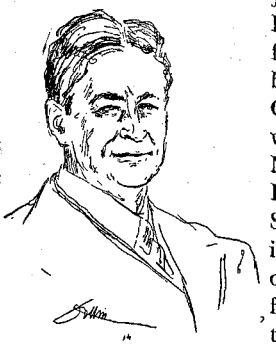
We are happy this month to bring our readers the view of a great industrialist and that of a U. S. Senator on how full employment can be obtained after this war. Rounding out the picture we will publish next month articles representing the opinions of small business and of labor. *PAUL G. HOFFMAN* is President of the Studebaker Corporation, having risen to that position from the job of automobile salesman for the company in Los Angeles at the age of eighteen. But *HOFFMAN'S* sole interest is not selling automobiles. He heads the Automotive Safety Foundation which has done so much to eliminate causes of auto accidents. He helped organize the Committee for Economic Development the purpose of which is to study underlying factors which make for prosperity.

Paul G. Hoffman



James E. Murray

JAMES E. MURRAY, Democratic senator from Montana, was born on a farm in Ontario, Canada, but was admitted to the Montana bar in 1901. He has been in the Senate since 1934 and is one of the sponsors of the bill to promote full employment with the aid of government action about which he writes in this issue.

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The comprehensive report on the American war effort in this issue is by the man who probably knows as much or more about it than anyone in the nation. *J. A. KRUG* is chairman of the War Production Board. He has behind him a long record of experience in public utilities, having begun his business experience with the Bell Telephone System in 1930 soon after his graduation from the University of Wisconsin. He was later connected with the Federal Communications Commission, the Kentucky Public Service Commission of which he was Director, and the Tennessee Valley Authority where he served as Manager of Power. In 1941 he was lent to the OPM and to the WPB by the TVA. From April 1944 to August of that year he served as a Lieutenant-Commander in the United States Naval Reserve, later returning to WPB.

J. A. Krug

●

A well known French journalist, *RENE LAVIGNE* is an authority on Russia and the Far East. He also made thorough studies of the various European Underground movements and, under the nom-de-plume of Pierre Dupont, which he adopted to prevent his family in France from being harmed by the Nazis, has contributed many articles to FREE WORLD Magazine. He is at present one of the editors of *Le Monde Libre,* FREE WORLD'S French edition.

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We are deeply honored to have as our contributor in this month which portends the downfall of nazism, the great German writer *THOMAS MANN,* beloved throughout the world for his courageous fight against the forces of Hitlerism. Ideas and words are powerful weapons and *MANN* has known how to use them in the cause of democracy. Born in Lubeck, Germany in 1875 he was an internationally famous novelist and winner of the Nobel prize for literature before Hitler came to power. Deeply grieved by the lack of wisdom which permitted his people to accept a totalitarian regime the great artist became a voluntary exile from his homeland, but he was able confidently to predict that the nazi overlords would in the end find nothing but disaster. Today in that prediction he is being proved utterly right. Many FREE WORLD readers will want to turn to their library shelves this month to reread *MANN'S The Coming Victory of Democracy,* published in 1938.

•

MARION ROSSELLI is an Englishwoman of Quaker stock who was educated at Bedford College, London University. While following courses at the University of Florence, she became engrossed in Italian politics. It was through this interest that she met Carlo Rosselli. They were married in 1926. When her husband was sentenced to the penal island of Lipari in 1928 she went with him. Her portrait study of Alberto Tarchiani, the new Italian ambassador to Washington, recounts his successful efforts to bring about her husband's escape in July 1929, and the part she herself played in the plot. She and her husband lived in exile in France with their three children, until June 1937, when Carlo Rosselli and his brother Nello were assassinated. Since July 1940, she has been in the United States.

•

Our science article this month is by *HARLAN TRUE STETSON,* astronomer and geophysicist with Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is one of those rare men who combine a broad knowledge of abstract science with a thoroughly technical background. Thus he is prepared, as he does in this issue, to look out over the cosmos in which our planet moves and discover new sources of power and wealth which lie far beyond our stratosphere. Men like him may be helping us toward a new day when civilization will bring to the common man incomparable luxuries.

Not long ago a tall, blond young Norwegian newspaper man walked into the offices of FREE WORLD to tell us about the thrilling struggle being waged by Norway's Underground fighters. He was *BJORN STALLARE* and he was a part of that Underground himself until recently, when he escaped to England just ahead of the long fingers of the Gestapo. After the Germans expelled *STALLARE* from his newspaper in 1941 on the charge that he was sabotaging the German war effort he became one of the leaders of the Underground press. At the same time he attempted to continue a successful career as a playwright, until the Gestapo dramatically stepped in again and routed the actors at the dress rehearsal of a play in which they had detected strong anti-nazi sentiments. It is not surprising that *STALLARE* had to flee.

•

ATWOOD H. TOWNSEND'S reflections on the German military machine date back to World War I when he was an ambulance driver for the AEF. He is of the opinion that German nature has not changed materially since then, and that the nation which launched two wars must soon be given a real lesson in how to keep the peace. His article in this issue marshals real facts and data to disprove any contentions which may arise that a soft peace is necessary.

•

When the manager of the Grand Hotel in Wahoo, Nebraska, visited Hollywood in 1908 he lost his six-year-old son, but later located him playing a role in one of the studios. The small boy was shipped home by his indignant father but much later returned to the capital of movieland to become one of its outstanding producers. *DARRYL F. ZANUCK* is a vice-president of Twentieth Century Fox. He has to his credit the production of such important pictures as "Wilson," "How Green Was My Valley," "Grapes of Wrath." In the years between his first and second Hollywood experiences he packed some real drama, too, serving overseas while still in his teens, as a volunteer in World War I with the 37th Division. He got his first writing experience pinch-hitting for a reporter for the *Stars and Stripes* who had been wounded.

Darryl F. Zanuck

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BOOKS

WAR CRIMINALS – THEIR PROSECUTION AND PUNISHMENT, by Sheldon Glueck. Alfred A. Knopf. 250 pages. $3.00

THIS book deals exactly with the subject matter of the title. The author, who is professor of criminal law and criminology at Harvard University Law School, is well equipped to write on the problem, and his effort is an extremely worthwhile contribution on a timely subject. Lawyers and social workers are universally acquainted with Professor Glueck's sound research and constructive thinking; few leaders in these professions will omit this book from their "must" list.

What is equally important, the book will prove extremely valuable to the intelligent layman who has an interest in international justice. It is not abstruse or musty, nor is it touched with the "starry-eyed mysticism" which of late has received such frequent mention in our daily press.

The author makes no pretense of being unaffected by the violations of the code of human conduct which he describes, and this very fact makes his book a cogent and persuasive document. However, this does not detract from the scientific approach. On the contrary, it lends conviction to his statement of the necessity for a program of action.

A great many books have dealt more or less adequately with the question of what to do with our enemies. Most of them are concerned with the corrective measures to be applied to Germany and Japan as defeated enemy nations, and with the important problems of national economic sanctions, reeducation, embargoes, reparations, and the like.

Punishment of individual war criminals has been the subject of comparatively little popular presentation which would enable others besides students of international law to understand the problems involved. "Popular" here implies merely form and content easily digestible by any thinking individual. Professor Glueck has filled this need without sacrificing scholarliness.

His entire book is in line with modern theories of criminology, in that it emphasizes the necessity of dealing with individual offenders for individual offenses. There will be those who will argue that in places he disregards international law, but they will be the strict formalists to whom any departure from Grotius, the father of international law, is blasphemy.

Reform or Retribution

LAW should give us a practical way of dealing with problems of human relationships for the solution of which the help of the community is needed. As the author says at one point, "the rule of practical reason should take precedence over the rule of abstruse conceptualism."

A formalist is willing to sacrifice justice on the altar of *stare decisis,* which, freely translated from the Latin, means "That's the way it has always been." Judges frequently are accused of first deciding what they want the law to be, and then providing reasoning and citations to justify their desires. This is called "progress" by those who approve; they sagely speak of horse-and-wagon thinking in a machine era. Those who disapprove call it "bad law"—and there is muttering about radicalism and un-Americanism. The division between those who talk "progress" and those who say "bad law" usually can be explained by the answer to the question: whose ox was gored?

Says Professor Glueck, "The problem of punishment and correction of Axis war criminals is unprecedented and highly complex. Because of the nature and multiplicity of the atrocities committed by them and the deeply indoctrinated bigotry of Axis troops, a philosophy of correction, reform and rehabilitation must yield first place to one of punitive retribution. The deeply injured sensibilities of the survivors of Axis atrocity are more to be taken into account than are the feelings or reformative possibilities of the war criminals; for unless the survivors of nazi-fascist tyranny see at least the chief contrivers of bestiality punished, the very foundations of their mental and moral well-being will tend to be undermined. There has been altogether too much cynicism about law and justice; it is high time that the awful power of disciplined punishment for violation of law be made evident throughout the world.

"But a program that stresses retribution for wrong-doing does not necessarily rule out the opportunity for individualized corrective and therapeutic measures in especially worthy and promising cases."

A New Code

WITH his objective clear, Professor Glueck has reasoned aptly and with legal soundness to arrive at a solution. Just as legislative drafts-

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men in a new government would do, he has outlined a criminal code which provides for tribunals and procedure, as well as law. This would be bolstered with common law where applicable. The foundation of this common law would be like that of all such law. "Whenever a common law court for the first time held that some act not previously declared by a legislature to be prohibited was a punishable offense for which the accused was now liable, or whenever, for the first time, it more specifically than theretofore defined the constituents of a crime and applied that definition in a new case, it made law to some extent, despite the fiction that it only 'found' or 'declared' preexistent law. Yet, fundamentally, it did no violence to the technique of law enforcement or the requirements of man-made justice."

If pettifoggers quarrel too vociferously with his common law, Professor Glueck can always rely on the legal code known as the "Ten Commandments," which has never had territorial limitations.

It is not a reflection on the rest of the book to say that Chapter VI, dealing with "an international criminal court," should be regarded as the most important, since it gives a basis for organizing a proper world tribunal. This basis may not be perfect, and you may not agree with it, but it is hard to conceive of any court which could operate satisfactorily without adopting much of the reasoning set out in Chapter VI.

Jonah J. Goldstein, who reviews this important book, is Judge of the Court of General Sessions in New York City, and widely known as an authority on matters relating to criminals and their treatment. He has a record also as a great humanitarian, is founder of the Jewish "Big Brother" Movement, and an active leader in relief work for the peoples of Europe through the Joint Distribution Committee.

If you give a court jurisdiction and power to enforce its judgments, justice can and will be done. As youngsters we debated whether the pen is mightier than the sword. Youngsters will debate that question for a long time to come. One thing is certain: a combination of the two, wielded vigorously in behalf of justice for all, should do much to prevent another world cataclysm.

The book tells why we failed after World War I, and points out the way to avoid a repetition. It has been aptly said that to err is human—but only fools repeat mistakes.

JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN.

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America's Destiny

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, by Morris Zucker. Two volumes. I. The Historical Field Theory. 685 pages. II. Periods in American History. 1,054 pages. Arnold-Howard Publishing Company. Single volume $4.50; *two volumes* $8.50

THE first of these two amazingly erudite volumes by Dr. Zucker deals with what he calls the Historical Field Theory. Though he does not define this rather cryptic phrase until he reaches the last paragraph in his book (p. 685), he tells us in the preface that it is an adaptation to the field of history of the "great physical theories of the electro-magnetic field as developed by Einstein into the Relativity Theory" (p. vii).

The argument is that history is as truly a science as physics or astronomy, even embracing the element of predictability; and that "the events of history are the result of social forces operating in a definite historical field through aggregates of different social potentials which constitute the social continuum and by mutual interaction determine (sic) the nature of the social structure" (p. 99).

As Carlyle would have said, here is something to ponder on! The author's defense of his thesis that history is and must be a science if it has any meaning at all is a vigorous polemic against a long list of historians, philosophers and sociologists: Marx, Beard, Spencer, Spengler, Wells, Dewey, Barnes, Nevins, J. T. Adams, Robinson and a dozen others. Buckle alone seems to him to have grasped the truth that the facts of history can be generalized into universal law, and to that distinguished author of the "History of Civilization in England" Zucker pays extraordinary tribute, crediting him with having written some of "the noblest lines ever conceived by the human mind."

The second volume of Dr. Zucker's work tests the validity of his thesis by its application to American history. He divides our history into four parts: The Colonial Period, The Period of Expansion, The Period of Industrialization and The Period of Nationalization, attempting to prove that in each of these periods the events of American history followed the inevitable course marked out by the antecedent causal forces. He fills over a thousand pages with the details of our history, not always presented with logical sequence. In the end he leaves us with the feeling of having had such a surfeit of historical narrative that we find it difficult to relate the facts to the initial assumptions of the theory.

Yet Mr. Zucker gives us a positive directive in his "Theory of the Continuing American Revolution." That great event he ranks with Magna Charta in its historical significance. The American Revolution was inexorably prepared by the century and a half of colonial history which preceded it, and even by the social factors which characterized the English evolution in self-government for centuries before. It was as inevitable as the growth of peonage in New Spain or feudalism in New France. Moreover, he says, the social forces unloosed by the great Revolution have not yet run their course, but are gathering scope and effectiveness by the very nature of the democratic institutions which were then brought into being. We shall, he believes, witness in our own time the fruition of the process, and "the great America of the twentieth century will blazon the path for a distracted world as did the similarly great America of the eighteenth century" (p. vi.).

World Plans Criticized

IN his concluding chapter on "The Next Twenty Years (pp. 998-1054), a chapter in which he often rises to rare heights of eloquence, he warns us that practically all the plans and projects for a better world which are now being put forward in such bewildering variety are utterly inadequate, because they are the product of minds which have not grasped the meaning of democracy. That meaning would become clear if we once understod that our history is governed by scientific causal laws as surely as the operations of nature are so governed. Then we would cease to live on hand-to-mouth expedients and feeble compromises with an economic system which has served its time and is on the way to extinction. We would realize that "of all the great World Powers the United States now stands forth as the nation possessing the suitable material resources combined with the ideological background to make the deliberate choice for democratic nationalization" (p. 1052).

So enthusiastic is Mr. Zucker in his conviction of the noble role reserved for the American people by virtue of their inherited mate-

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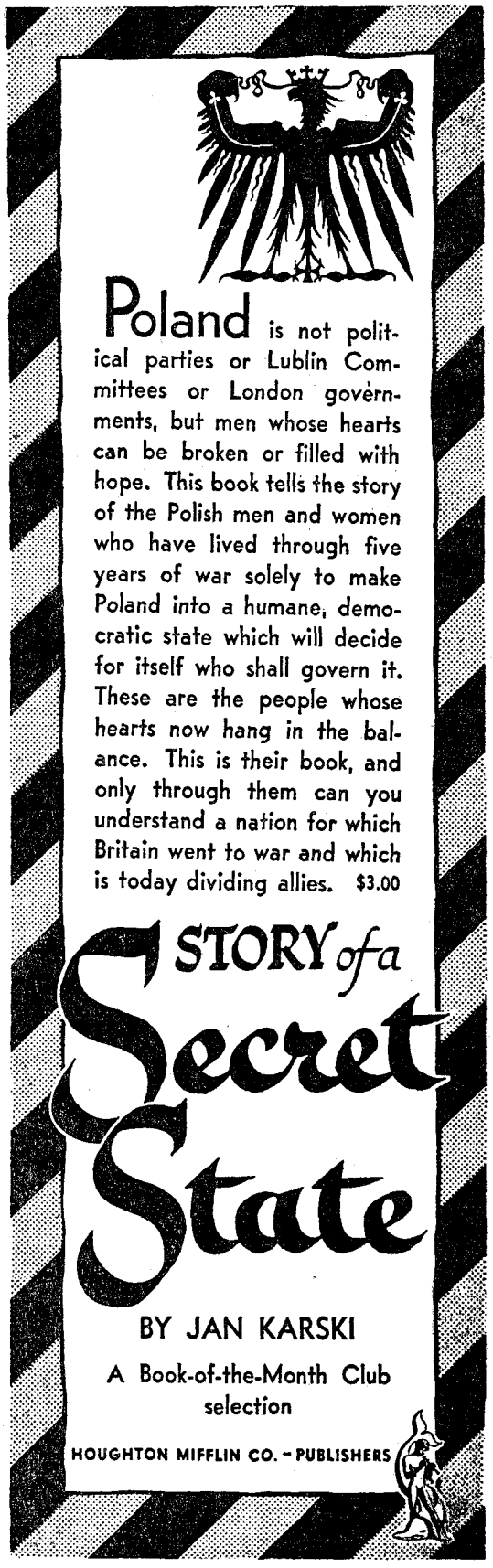
rial strength and ideological endowment that he is unduly harsh on honest thinkers who have not attained to his own clear vision of the scientific diagnosis of social forces. Such epithets as "demagogical," "platitudinous," "phrase mongers," "professorial cant" (Wilson's), "cultural persiflage" (Robinson's), rank nonsense" and "nit-wit intelligentsia," to mention only a few of Dr. Zucker's indictments, are unbecoming in a work of such sustained excellence.

Prophecy for U. S. A.

ONE may not be persuaded of the soundness of Dr. Zucker's thesis of the assimilation of the historic field to the scientific field. But one must respond with a glow of emotional consent to his prophesy of what is in store for our nation if its leaders embrace "the unparalleled opportunity for the fuller unfoldment of the forces released by the American Revolution" (p. 1034). The closing sentences of the book are a paean to the future of America: "We shall transform these United States into a paradise on earth. We shall replenish the depleted soil, dam up our wild-flowing streams, reforest the denuded hills and fill the countryside with comfortable homes abounding with the material things for a rational life and the opportunity to enjoy them. . . . The laughter of little children will once again resound with the plenitude of a young land upon which so strangely has descended the ancient, awesome curse of sterility. . . . America will bloom like a garden again in a world saddened by want, by unnecessary strife, by individualistic ambition which feeds upon the deprivation of his fellow men. . . . To such a world America will say—Brothers of men, children of the common earth, this is the way to the everlasting life of the human spirit. Come, join with us, and let us strive together to attain to the fuller knowledge of that unknown yet ever-living Presence which is the essence of blessedness on earth."

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

The writer who signs this review is the leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, professor emeritus of history of Columbia University, and former Carnegie lecturer on American history in Paris, Edinburgh and Prague.



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A Plan for "Peasant Europe"

CROSSROADS OF TWO CONTINENTS—A Democratic Federation of East-Central Europe, by Feliks Gross. Columbia University Press. 162 *pages.* $2.00.

THERE are two Europes, a French author says. Dr. Gross deals with peasant Europe, which occupies a middle position between Asia and industrialized Europe, at the crossroads of two continents. This peasant Europe extends from the Baltic to the Aegean, comprising Poland and Greece, as well as the countries in between. It is inhabited by a medley of nationalities, and has not been able to settle down into strictly delimited national states.

This Europe is rich in mineral resources, water power and oil. It is very rich in agricultural resources, but very poor in industries, though rich in industrious people. In the global picture it occupies a central position from which the main transportation lines of the Old World radiate in all directions.

The tragedy of this Europe is that it has long been a *place d'armes* for defense and offense. Great powers have continually attempted to break into it, to avail themselves of its manpower and natural resources. This was Germany's main *"lebensraum"*—a Wotan-sent gift at the very doors of the Reich, a potential colonial empire that could be reached overnight by train.

In the past this zone provided much of the explosive material that set the world afire from time to time. And in the future its role is bound to be important.

Dr. Gross clearly sees that peace will shun the Old World unless the explosive material is removed from this danger zone. The answer to the problem is a type of federation that would be fully integrated with the entire European system. There must be what the author provocatively calls "integral federalism"—cultural, social and economic federation on a democratic basis. The days are past when political and economic democracy could be considered as separate entities.

Such an East-Central European Federation must maintain friendly relations with the United States, Great Britain, and above all with the Soviet Union.

The Soviets are bound to loom larger than ever in this region after the war. Dr. Gross quotes a Russian author who expressed disapproval of any federation along the Soviet's western boundary. That disapproval, however, was expressed several months ago. Then the Russians feared that such a union would be a new edition of the *"cordon sanitaire"* set up after World War I to keep them isolated from the non-Communist world.

Today the Russians are in a position to dictate their terms, so that there can no longer be a question of a *"cordon."* Any federation would contain the Soviets' close friends, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; it is unthinkable, Dr. Gross points out, that a union of which these nations were integral parts could be anti-Soviet. "On the contrary, such a federation would be a wall of defense for Russia against further pressure by Germany on the east."

The federation must be born of the will of the people themselves, and Dr. Gross is right in saying that it is impossible to anticipate that will as yet. Central Eastern Europe is in ferment, and almost anything may happen there.

The author reviews the various proposals for federation. The most ambitious of these plans would embrace the entire region, from the Baltic to the Aegean. A second plan envisages the formation of a northern and a southern federation, the latter including the Balkan countries, with the exception of Romania. A third plan would divide this zone into a northern, a southern and an intermediary region, the last of which would follow the line of the Danube from Austria via Hungary to Romania.

This is a thoughtful book, well documented with a rich selection of appendices covering the most important phases of the recent history of this region. The book also contains a first-class bibliography and some easily comprehensible maps.

Dr. Gross, who is editor of *New Europe,* and an important figure in the labor movement of his native Poland, has performed a public service by focusing attention on the solution of the problem of the "crossroads of two continents."

EMIL LENGYEL

Dr. Lengyel is at present on the teaching staff of the School of Education at New York University, and is an outstanding authority on Central Europe and the Balkans. Born in Budapest, Hungary, he was an active newspaper man in Europe before World War II, and is the author of several important books including *The Danube* and *Turkey.*

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Kinship of Man

THE AMERICAN STORY: TEN BROADCASTS, by Archibald MacLeish. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 231 pages. $2.00

THOSE of us who regret the ephemeral existence of many of the historic and magnificent radio programs on the air welcome the appearance in book form of ten broadcasts written by Archibald MacLeish entitled *The American Story*. Its publication is a dedication to the belief that the fine qualities of an art which is so fleeting should be preserved. The book reveals the exceptional talents of the poet, humanist, lawyer, soldier, journalist and orator.

With directness and no verbiage, the author tells a comprehensive story of the moving events which brought the many nationalities and foreign languages to the coasts of the Americas. The book covers the history of the Americas—their discovery by the Europeans, the Western World's oldest inhabitants, the influence of this combination of the old and the new on the growth of the Hemisphere following the advent of the new discoverers. In the words of the author, "The moon rising out of Europe, out of the ocean, had seen the shapes of stone across America for centuries before the men of Europe saw them. But the men of Europe called it the New World and were right to call it so. It was new to them, new to their hopes. To them it was the future in the west; to the Incas, the ancient land beyond the Mountains. . . ."

The book can be likened to an immense canvas of the life and literature of the Western Hemisphere during three and a half centuries. MacLeish develops the theme that the experience of early discoveries was the common heritage of the Americas. He uses the words written by the discoverers themselves centuries ago. Much of the background material, as well as the actual quotations, has been translated from the original texts in Spanish, Portuguese, or French.

The ten broadcasts cover the little-known as well as the known facts of the history of the Americas from the time of their discovery up to the point where these people of many tongues, as individuals and as nations, discover their need for something more lasting than mere existence. . . . "The new world which men have in mind when they speak of America is a world new in its human possibilities—a world in which humanity is newly possible."

The author has given much time to the study of the similarities of historic events which took place almost simultaneously in scattered parts of the Americas. He shows how the languages, philosophies, and cultural habits of the varied mass of peoples of the Americas differ, but the end result is the same—an expression of freedom and human hope.

The unusual likeness of the settlements on both continents of the Western Hemisphere is illustrated by the poet when he narrates from the writings of Governor William Bradford at Plymouth; Lopez Vaz at Pernambuco; Pedro de Valdivier at Santiago; and Marc Lescarbo at Acadia in Newfoundland, all of whom had almost identical experiences.

Quoting from logs and journals of mariners and explorers traversing the shores of the Americas, the author describes their wanderings in the New World. He quotes from the log of Henry Hudson's mate as his boat passed lower Manhattan Island, and from the logs of other explorers. Yesterday men came to this country "giving names to the high bluffs and the mouths of the rivers—giving names of their girls to the loveliest islands and names of saint's days to the capes and names of feasts to the harbors."

MacLeish has created new forms of expres-

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THE SINEWS OF PEACE

by HERBERT FEIS

Here, as the experts agree, is a floodlighting of the problem in the economic realm with which we must come to grips, if peace is to be real and solid.

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sion in each of the ten presentations by varying the dramatic form, narration and straight-reading techniques. The combination results in a reading which has beauty, rhythm and warmth. It brings yesterday into the living human terms of today.

This book has significance for all persons interested in history, international affairs and literature. It relates the settlement of an entire new continent and the experiences of life on the frontiers of a new world. It crystallizes the belief of the internationalist that if we share a common experience the differences of language and culture matter not. As for literature, it is pure joy to read. It is a book which teachers of English, History, and Radio will wish to use in their classes.

The reviewer's personal satisfaction was not the book's historic or literary value but rather the author's sensitive treatment of man's kinship—"The salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost." GRACE JOHNSON.

The author of this review is director of Women's, Children's and Religious Activities for the Blue Network, and one of the important behind-the-scenes personalities in the radio field.

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What Makes Prejudice

ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING. Foreword by G. W. Allport. Central YMCA College, Chicago. 72 pages. 25 cents.

THIS pamphlet brings together the results of studies undertaken in the Department of Psychology at Harvard University under the direction of Professors G. W. Allport and H. A. Murray. Various aspects of problems of morale in time of war were investigated by students and by members of the staff. A number of the investigations were summarized in mimeographed reports, which presumably can still be secured by writing to Professor Allport. Although the subject of scapegoating appeared in several of the studies, the material on this topic was prepared for separate publication because of its importance for American society, both now and in the years following the war. Hardly anything else of its kind is yet in print, a fact which gives to this publication an unusual significance.

The pamphlet begins with a definition of scapegoating, discusses at some length the various motives involved, treats of the sources of race prejudice in children, and furnishes psychological analyses of the different types of scapegoaters and their victims, and of the numerous forms of scapegoating in our society. One of the most important sections of the pamphlet deals with methods of combatting this evil.

The central theme developed by Professor Allport and his students in this seminar may be summarized briefly:

Within any social group the individual reveals quite natural likes and dislikes. These predilections tend to be relatively mild, but furnish the points of departure for two very different acquired attitudes. The friendly predilections lead under favorable circumstances to attitudes of tolerance, respect, and cooperation. These attitudes are largely the result of learning, but are based upon the natural likes which develop in any community.

In the other direction develop those attitudes which are harmful to the community. Dislike leads to prejudice, a state of mind in which certain stereotypes are accepted uncritically. A prejudice is a more or less rigid and inflexible bias, and reveals the operation of a closed mind impervious to evidence. Some Englishmen, for example, think of all Americans as loud-mouthed spendthrifts. Many Americans think of all Negroes as stupid and dirty, and of all Scots as tight-fisted. If not brought out into the open and acted upon,

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By Charles W. Turner

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CARROLL C. PRATT

Carroll C. Pratt, who reviews this book, is professor of psychology at Rutgers University, and a member of the Emergency Committee in Psychology of the National Research Council.

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REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS, by W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace. $3.00. Mr. White accompanied Eric Johnston on his trip to Russia when the Soviet Government waived its rule of secrecy for these American visitors. Now the reporter tells of what he saw and where he went on this journey which took him from the Caspian Sea to the Finnish front, and from the depths of Siberia to an American air base in the Ukraine.

CAN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT DO THE JOB? by Thomas K. Finletter. Reynal & Hitchock. $2.00. Believing that our Government needs considerable renovating, that its main weakness is the conflict between the Executive and Congress which produces jurisdictional struggle within the Government, Mr. Finletter offers his study of the problem and his solution.

WE STAND UNITED AND OTHER RADIO SCRIPTS, by Stephen Vincent Benet. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50. In the last two years of his life, Stephen Vincent Benet turned his hand to radio and wrote a number of outstanding scripts. This book contains a complete collection: The Undefended Border, Creed for Americans, We Stand United, Thanksgiving Day 1941, Prayer for Flag Day, They Burned the Books, Listen to the People, Thanksgiving Day 1942, A Child Is Born, The Dear Adolf Series, Freedom from Want and others.

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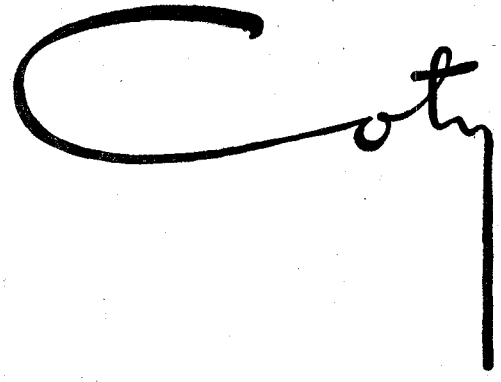

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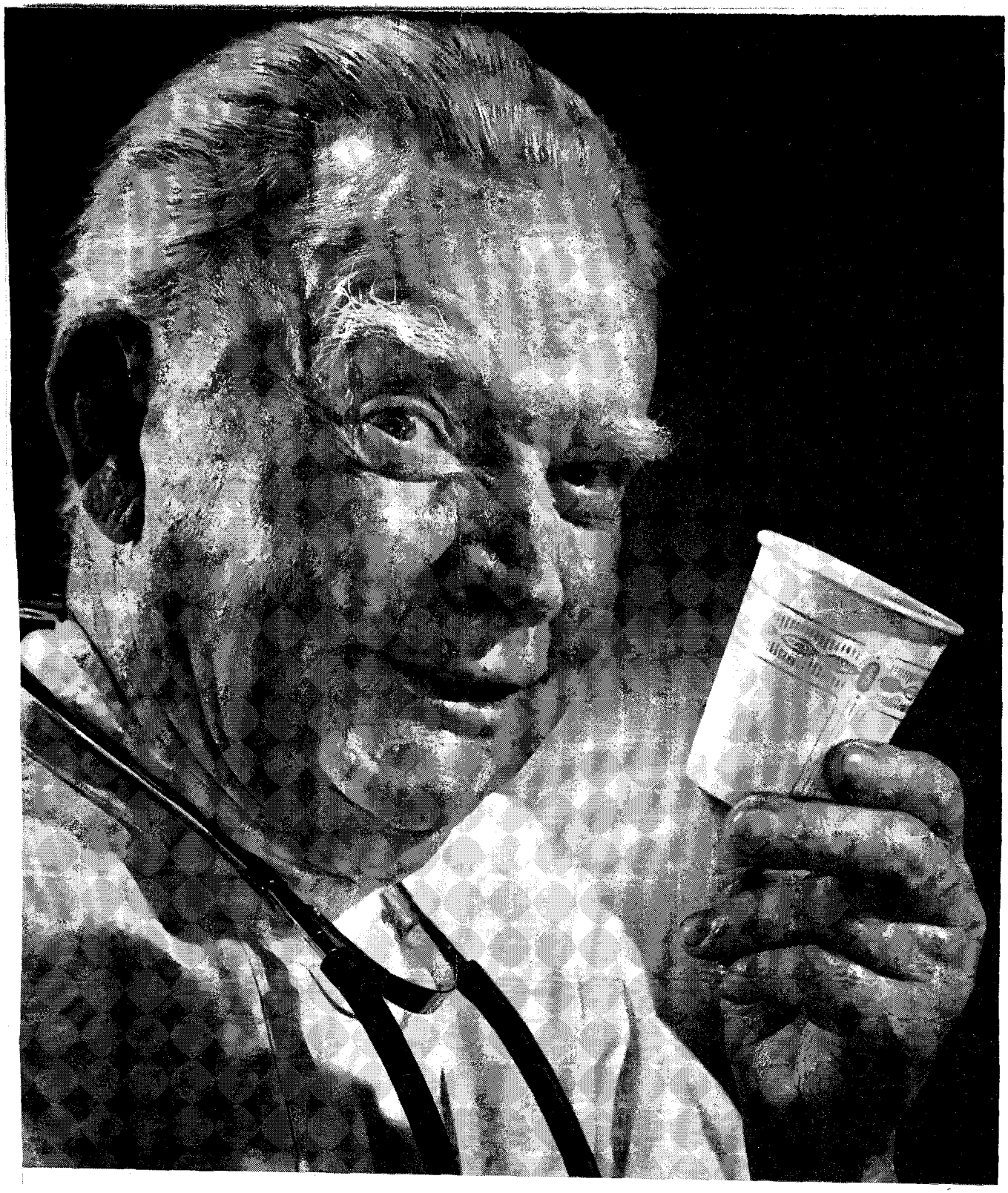

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